FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Soviet Unio

FBIS-SOV-91-013
Friday
18 January 1991

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-013 CONTENTS *18 January 1991*

NOTICE TO READERS: As of 2 January 1991, television sourcelines in the DAILY REPORT will reflect how a station identifies itself. In most cases, this change eliminates the "Television Service" designation in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new television sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Petrovskiy Views Disarmament Progress *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 1
Paper Stands Behind Anti-Arbatov Article *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* 3

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. Gulf War Necessitates 'Radical Changes' *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 2]* 4
Obukhov Meets U.S. Ambassador for Gulf Talks *[TASS]* 4
Belonogov, Petrovskiy Meet U.S., French Envoys *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 4

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Sends Messages to Arab, Israeli Leaders *[TASS]* 5
Reports Note Belonogov's Response to War in Gulf 5
    Reads Foreign Ministry Statement *[TASS]* 5
    Notes Need to 'Exginguish' Conflict *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 5
Churkin's Reactions to War in Gulf Noted 6
    Cites Gorbachev Plea to Iraq *[TASS]* 6
    Interviewed on Soviets in Iraq *[Moscow Radio]* 6
Reports Follow Missile Strike Against Israel 7
    Saddam Said 'Provoking' Israel *[TASS]* 7
    Signals 'Dangerous Turn of Events' *[TASS]* 7
    Desire To Retaliate 'Understandable' *[TASS]* 7
Various Reactions to War in Gulf Reported 8
    Official Expresses 'Grief' *[TASS]* 8
    Expert Views Military Maneuvers *[TASS]* 8
    Hopes For 'Miracle' Dashed *[Radio Peace and Progress]* 8
    Saddam Held Responsible *[TASS]* 9
    'Panic' Seen Among Iraqis *[Moscow International]* 9
    'Unpredictable Consequences' Seen *[PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 10
    Possible Scenarios Examined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Jan]* 10
    May Signal 'New World War' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Jan]* 11
IZVESTIYA Gives Gulf War Overview, Forecasts *[18 Jan]* 12
Belonogov Receives PLO Adviser to 'Arafat *[TASS]* 13
Comparison on Gorbachev Gulf War Statement 13

Latin America & Caribbean

Official Speaks on Trade Relations with Cuba *[Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO 9 Jan]* 13

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

- Presidium Holds Emergency Session on Gulf 15
  - Resolution Published *[PRAVDA 18 Jan]* 15
  - PRAVDA Reports Discussion *[18 Jan]* 15
  - RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA on Debate *[18 Jan]* 16
  - Lukyanov, Bessmertnykh Speak *[Moscow TV]* 16
- Deputies Warn Against 'Spread' *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 17
  - TV Carries Debate Recording *[Moscow TV]* 17
- Interior Minister Pugo, Deputies Cited on Baltics *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* 24
- Marshal Akhromeyev Views Lithuanian Events *[Moscow TV]* 25

Political & Social

- Kryuchkov Discusses Salvation Committee *[Moscow Radio]* 26
- TU Presidium Appeal for End to Gulf War *[TASS]* 27
- Demonstration Supports 'Vzglyad,' Radio Rossii *[Radio Rossii]* 27
- TASS Reportedly Fires Leningrad Reporters *[Moscow Radio]* 27
- Strike Call in Leningrad Fails *[TRUD 17 Jan]* 27
- Politburo Plans Next Central Committee Plenum *[TASS]* 28
- INTERFAX Sees Political Motive for Expulsion *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 28
- Paper Views Gosteleradio-INTERFAX Dispute *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 28
- News Conference on Death Penalty *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 29
- Deputies Assail Kravchenko Over TV 'Pap' *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 29
- Writers' Group Urges Unity, Cooperation *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 30
- Girenko Expects Mid-91 Union Treaty Signing *[TASS]* 31
- New Parties Cooperate Across Republic Borders *[Moscow TV]* 31
- More on Chernobyl, Ignalina AES Incidents *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 31
- Daily Criticizes 'Vremya' Vilnius Coverage *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Jan]* 31
- People's Deputy Resigns From Supreme Soviet *[LITURATURNAYA GAZETA No 1]* 32
- Lyubimov Views on Party, Army, KGB Criticized *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Jan]* 33
- Perestroyka's Irreversibility Questioned *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* 34
- Officials on Paper, Production Problems *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA]* 36

Economic

- Defense Conversion Exhibition Opens in Moscow *[Moscow TV]* 39
- Element Contributing to Shortages Analyzed *[IZVESTIYA 5 Jan]* 40
- Identity of Economic Saboteurs Questioned *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 42
- Popov's Proposed Economic Solutions Criticized *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Jan]* 44

Scientific

- Cosmos-2121 Satellite Launched 17 Jan *[TASS]* 49

Military

- General Comments on Military Service Bill *[TASS]* 49
- Rescue Crew Not Blamed for Submarine Casualties *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Jan]* 50
- Report of 1983 Destroyer 'Mutiny' Dismissed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* 50

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

Lithuania

- 'Massive Roundup' of Vilnius Youth Under Way *[Radio Kaunas]* 51

Government Statement Cites Soviet Media 'Lies' *[Radio Kaunas]* ... 51
    'Pirate' TV Broadcasts Reported *[Vilnius International]* ... 51
    Lithuanian TV Resumes Programming *[Radio Kaunas]* ... 51
TASS Observer Regrets Use of Force in Lithuania ... 51
Soviet Defense Ministry News Conference *[TASS]* ... 52
Vilnius Garrison Holds News Conference *[Radio Kaunas]* ... 52
Garrison Commander on Sajudis Armed Units ... 54
    Sajudis Denies Uskhopchik Claim *[Berlin ADN]* ... 55
No Guarantee Against Council Building Attack *[AFP]* ... 55
Tomsk Deputy Blames Gorbachev for Vilnius Events *[Radio Kaunas]* ... 55
Poland's Kuron Addresses Supreme Council *[Radio Kaunas]* ... 56
Vagnorius Discusses Government Program *[Vilnius International]* ... 56
Saudargas: 'Military Junta' Ordered Actions *[Berlin DER MORGEN 16 Jan]* ... 56
Report on 13 Jan Saugardas News Conference *[Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA 14 Jan]* ... 57
No Paratroopers Lost, 'No Deserters' Reported *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* ... 58
    Garrison Medical Service on Losses *[TASS]* ... 58
    KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Reports Victims *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* ... 59
Workers Disavow National Salvation Committee *[Radio Kaunas]* ... 60
TRUD Reports Kaunas Radio Broadcasting *[15 Jan]* ... 60
DXer on State of Lithuanian Broadcasting *[Vilnius International]* ... 61
Students Told To Ignore 'Disinformation' *[Radio Kaunas]* ... 61
Moscow TV Notes Continued 'Attacks' on Communists ... 61
Defense Ministry Explains Klaipeda Troop Moves *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* ... 62
Sobchak Wants Emergency Congress on Lithuania *[Riga Radio]* ... 62
Belorussians, Leningraders Comment on Baltics *[TASS]* ... 63
Paper Rounds Up Reaction, Media Coverage *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jan]* ... 64
Foreign Reactions to Situation Cited *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* ... 65
EEC Lithuania Stance, Soviet Oil Need Linked *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 16 Jan]* ... 65
Ex-Political Prisoners Ask for World Support *[Radio Kaunas]* ... 66
Conflicting 'Appeals' by Social Groups Cited *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* ... 66
Opposite Viewpoints of Vilnius Events Cited *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jan]* ... 67
Defense Ministry Reports Lithuania Events *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Jan]* ... 68
'Outward Calm' in Vilnius Termed 'Deceptive' *[PRAVDA 16 Jan]* ... 69
Silence in Lithuania 'Paid for in Blood' *[PRAVDA 15 Jan]* ... 71
Reporter Recounts Experiences in Vilnius *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Jan]* ... 72
Lithuanian Law on State Enterprises *[cross-reference]* ... 73

Latvia

Explosion Hits Communist Party Building in Riga *[TASS]* ... 73
Bus Driver Dead in Shooting Incident *[Moscow Radio]* ... 74
'Equal Rights' Deputies Make Demands *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* ... 74
Latvian Committee Promises All-Out Strike *[Moscow Radio]* ... 75
Gorbunovs Phones Gorbachev on Situation *[Moscow Radio]* ... 75
Minister on Alternative Government Reports *[Riga Radio]* ... 75
USSR Legislative Commission in Latvia for Talks *[Riga Radio]* ... 76
Liepaja Soldiers Reject Using Arms on Residents *[Riga Radio]* ... 76
Pugo Agrees To Talks After Latvian Ultimatum *[AFP]* ... 76
President To Tour Scandinavia, European Capitals *[AFP]* ... 76
Riga 'Under Siege'; Stabilization Efforts Cited *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Jan]* ... 77
Rubiks Addresses 15 Jan Riga Rally *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 Jan]* ... 77

Estonia

Reports View Efforts To Enforce Draft ... 78
    Estonian Call-Up Violates Law *[TASS]* ... 78
    Defense Official Comments *[TASS]* ... 78
    Compromise Reached *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Jan]* ... 79
Estonian Leader Will Continue Talks With Gorbachev *[TASS]* ... 79
Radio Station's Appeal for 'Combat Squads' Condemned *[Tallinn Radio]* ... 79
Radios Tuned to Supreme Soviet on Estonia *[Moscow Radio]* ... 79

Estonian Legislature Views General Strikes *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jan]* 80
Estonian Russian-Speaking Citizens Group Formed *[Moscow TV]* 81
Reports Focus on Various Baltics Issues 81
    Deadlock Over Draft Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Jan]* 81
    Norway To Provide Economic Aid *[Moscow TV]* 82
    Baltics Paper Published *[Riga Radio]* 83

RSFSR

Communist Party Issues Statement on Lithuania *[TASS]* 83
Russian Vice President Comments on Gulf War *[TASS]* 83
Russian Supreme Soviet To Convene 21 Jan *[TASS]* 83
Popov, Sobchak Head 'Congress of Compatriots' *[TASS]* 83
RSFSR Plans for Prices, Compensation Viewed *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 1]* 84
Moscow Gorkom Changes Outlined *[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 3 Jan]* 85
Gunman Kills Kaluga Newspaper Editor *[PRAVDA 14 Jan]* 85
Kursk Oblast, Trade Unions Agree on Employment *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jan]* 86
Leningrad TV To Become Joint Stock Company *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 87

Western Republics

Problems With Draft in Ukraine Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Jan]* 87
Ukrainian Party Secretariat Sitting Reported *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 5 Jan]* 87
Lvov Sulfur Miners Stage Strike *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jan]* 88
    KGB 'Trying To Mediate' *[Moscow TV]* 88
Ukrainian Leaders Look Forward to New Year *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 1 Jan]* 89
Rukh Leader Interviewed During Budapest Visit *[Budapest Radio]* 90
Moldovan Leaders, Commissar Discuss Draft *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Jan]* 90
New Belorussian Ecological Newspaper Planned *[Minsk Radio]* 91

Caucasus

'Extremists' Fire on Militia Posts in Tskhinvali *[Tbilisi Radio]* 91
Georgia Sets Up National Defense Fund *[TASS]* 91
Georgian Legislature Denies Radio Liberty Report *[TASS]* 91
Two Local Soviet Chairmen Elected in Armenia *[Yerevan Radio]* 92

Central Asia

New Commercial Newspaper Published in Kazakhstan *[Alma Ata Radio]* 92
Kazakhstan Launches Satellite TV Broadcasts *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Jan]* 92
Tajikistan Departments Merge Into Cooperative *[Moscow Radio]* 92
Turkmen SSR Law on Property Published *[cross-reference]* 92
Uzbek Draft Program for Market Economy Published *[cross-reference]* 92

Petrovskiy Views Disarmament Progress

PM1701153091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Second Edition p 5

[Article by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy under the rubric "The World and Politics": "Five Years Later: Global Cooperation Instead of Superpower Globalism"]

[Text] It is probably no exaggeration to say that the attention of the whole world is fixed on the Persian Gulf today. We have now gone right up to the 15 January deadline—the day the "peaceful interlude" will end. The course of the crisis's development leaves almost no time for hesitancy, sets its own pace, and forces everyone—politicians, diplomats, the public—to act forcefully. And still the feeling prevails today that the present situation, however dramatic and explosive it may be, differs fundamentally from those conflict situations which arose on several occasions in the past.

The world today is characterized by its striving for global cooperation and rejects both superpower and regional hegemony. But hegemony is being eradicated in strict accordance with the principles of law, which the international community has taken as its yardstick.

Another event is associated with 15 January. Five years ago on this day, M.S. Gorbachev's Statement was published which contained a program to gradually eliminate world stockpiles of nuclear weapons before the end of this century.

In essence this was the first influential document of the new political thinking. The rapid changes in the world which followed in the second half of the eighties confirmed the harmony of the new philosophy in foreign policy with the world transformations whose time had objectively come. The "Cold War" fades into the distance, and with it almost half a century of nuclear antagonism between the two systems.

The question arises, how has the 15 January 1986 statement influenced all these changes? At the moment the program appeared, many of our foreign partners reacted skeptically to it, deciding that it was no more than the next in a series of propagandist actions. In this respect, criticism was most of all elicited by the program's setting out a timetable for the achievement of this or that particular accord. Indeed, experience has made and continues to make amendments in the execution of the complex and multifaceted process of disarmament, with respect to its timetabling amongst other things. But I think the true significance of this document is not in its defining concrete parameters for disarmament, but in its philosophy of a qualitatively new type of international cooperation, global in scope and egalitarian in nature, in an interdependent world.

Perhaps one of the most vital and politically significant aspects of the program are the basic tenets of a conceptually new approach to the problem of security formulated in it. In a period when the process of real disarmament was effectively in the initial stages of its development and deterrence, with arms at extremely high levels, continued to remain a cornerstone in the maintenance of world stability, the Soviet Union came out with a new approach to ensuring global security, and proposed a vision of security as a complex, multifaceted concept, embracing the whole spectrum of military-technical, economic-technical, cultural, and last but not least psychological elements.

In the context of new conceptions of security, the role of force in politics and its place in determining states' political weight and influence in world affairs are seen in a different light. Military force stops being a factor determining the authority and prestige of states, and accordingly the concept of the superpower is eroded, as it is to a significant degree a feature of the outmoded "Cold War."

At the same time, the world community—and, I think, it is necessary to emphasize this—is not afraid of large states, both the existing as well as the nascent ones. On the contrary, people see them more and more as extra guarantors for the integration processes' accelerated development, and for the perfecting of the system of world economic links. Only it is important that they form an integral part of regional and global security structures and, on the other hand, are democratically run—which would create sound guarantees for the nonuse of their great economic and other potential for aggressive purposes.

It is also of note that in the 15 January program attention is paid in particular to questions of safeguarding security not only in Europe but also in Asia. It was at this very time that the Soviet Union's process—which continues to this day—of realizing that it is historically a Eurasian power in the widest geopolitical sense of the term, whose Asian and Pacific foreign policy orientation is just as important as its European one, received a boost.

Finally, talking about this document's significance, you cannot fail to mention perhaps the most important long-term aspect of its influence as much on the development of our foreign policy as on the international situation. Having advanced a thesis of the indivisibility of security and the primacy of nonmilitary methods and means of guaranteeing it, based in the first place on the creation of structures of comprehensive cooperation with all groups of states, the Soviet Union overcame the psychological barrier of closedness thrown up by the "Cold War" and began to move swiftly from its isolationist stance of many years to one of establishing firm international links of the new type.

Disarmament was put onto a practical footing, and is designated in the 15 January program as the main direction for the creation of lasting international security.

The first breakthrough on the road to real nuclear disarmament was the signing and coming into effect of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Its practical implementation, which is in full swing, means the complete destruction of two classes of Soviet and U.S. nuclear missile.

Today we have got right up to the next stage in the building of a nuclear-free world: The agreement on strategic offensive weapons is almost ready for signing. This will be an unprecedented step in the disarmament process. And progress will not stop with this—after the USSR and the United States have concluded the agreement, they intend to continue talks on the further reduction of their offensive nuclear arsenals.

A new stage in the realization of the program of 15 January is beginning, in which other nuclear powers and all other countries of the world should join in with the U.S. and Soviet actions in the field of disarmament. We are talking about the globalization of the process of disarmament, the complementarity of bipartite, regional, and multipartite efforts.

The banning of nuclear tests is a definite priority. The ratification of the "threshold" treaties of 1974 and 1976 in the USSR and the United States, creates preconditions for an actual move forward to the comprehensive prohibition of nuclear tests. The Soviet Union has sharply reduced the number and yield of its explosions, and is ready to stop them completely on a mutual basis with the United States. The conference taking place during these days on the question of prohibiting nuclear tests, points up a sure way to its resolution by the combined efforts of all states, first and foremost the nuclear ones.

The multipartite, comprehensive approach is also gaining a foothold with regard to the other priority task—that of the maintenance and strengthening of the nuclear nonproliferation regime. The key element here is the Non-proliferation Treaty, which should stay in force right up to the complete and final elimination of nuclear arsenals.

The convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons is in its early stages. Talks can and must finish in 1991, having secured an universal character for this most important document.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the implementation of the program of 15 January is limited to disarmament. Work of no less importance is being carried out in other areas. Significant progress has been made in the solution of regional conflicts using the approved method of searching for a balance of interests, applying the great potential of the United Nations as peacemaker. And today the creation of regional security structures is on the agenda.

It is becoming more and more apparent that as this global cooperation becomes reality, a new world order, based on the necessary recognition of the primacy of common human values and overcoming a split in the world, is forming. I think that the establishment of a new world order is possible only by increasing the role of law in world politics and forming universal international legal bases for the regulation of interstate relations. It seems that this is one of the basic guarantees for a crisis-free evolution of the international community into a rule-of-law community of democratic states, a development which today has received the name "global democratic revolution." In a period when the old military power-based structures of security are being dismantled, and, I will be frank, the system of political and legal restraint supported by verification which is to replace it still has not acquired a clear profile, not only in the practical sphere but also at a conceptual level, a vacuum of stability inevitably forms, which, as the Iraq-Kuwait conflict has demonstrated, the powerful potential of politico-legal influence is called to fill—a potential vested in the UN Charter and coordinated actions by the permanent members of the Security Council. But this is only one level—that of foreign policy—in the layers of legal settlement of international relations. The internal political side of this problem is no less important, inasmuch as the formation of a rule-of-law community of states is only possible if there are developed democratic societies in each of them.

In such conditions as those of the formation of new structures in an interdependent world, the problem of the interconnection of domestic and foreign policy acquires a particular practical significance for us today.

On the one hand, foreign policy facilitates the resolution of domestic policy problems. Through the varied mechanisms and institutions of multifaceted cooperation, we gain access to the world's accumulated scientific knowledge and technological achievements. This can clearly be seen in the field of disarmament. Just a few years ago, we regarded disarmament more as some kind of slogan, divorced from [illegible] most complex technical aspects. The situation changed radically when actual conversion work, the practical implementation of the new defensive doctrine, was launched and the technically complicated task of the elimination of stockpiles of chemical weapons became fully apparent. It turned out that from the financial point of view too, disarmament makes considerable demands. And here, as they say, we will not make out alone, especially taking into consideration the present economic position of the country.

On the other hand, and this is perhaps the most important thing today, the tendency towards internal destabilization in the Soviet Union and the sharp increase in the tendency for crises to develop in all areas of society—if this cannot be halted—may lead to the elimination of the necessary conditions for conducting a democratic foreign policy. It is not by chance that ever increasingly in the world today, people say that the further development of global cooperation and of positive tendencies in various areas of international cooperation, are linked to the prospects for maintaining the political stability and economic integrity of the Soviet Union.

Paper Stands Behind Anti-Arbatov Article

PM1601153191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed article under the rubric: "What is the True Story?": "It is not Worth Being Cunning"]

[Text] The latest article by USSR People's Deputy Academician G. Arbatov "Even the Market Will Not Save Us..." was published in IZVESTIYA No. 9 [11 January]. In it the author shares his thoughts on the problems of running the Soviet economy and transferring it onto peaceful tracks. And at the same time he tries to reproach KRASNAYA ZVEZDA for apparently mistakenly attributing to him a table published next to his article in a Canadian newspaper, and on this basis counting him among the "leaders of destructive forces."

We cannot accept this reproach. Primarily because it was not KRASNAYA ZVEZDA itself, nor its editorial office, but one of the newspaper's authors—military scientist Doctor of Military Sciences V. Korobushin—who entered into polemics with Academician Arbatov. Therefore any complaints should have been addressed to him and not to the newspaper as a whole.

As a matter of fact, V. Korobushin's article "Why is This Being Done?", was published by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 January not against the will of the editorial office, but with its agreement and approval. Even now, after G. Arbatov's reproaches, we believe that we behaved correctly. We have sufficient grounds for this. It is sufficient to look at the reproduction shown here of his article in the Canadian newspaper to realize that the table is placed within the text of G. Arbatov's article with his name at the top and with the caption "Specially for THE CITIZEN." This was hardly done by the Canadian editors without the author's knowledge, and even if that were the case, he did not express any objection, at least publicly.

Second, V. Korobushin wrote the following in his article, quite correctly, in our opinion: The article in THE CITIZEN confirms that G. Arbatov "has actually become one of the leaders of the anti-Army campaign waged in the country by destructive forces." One of the leaders of the anti-Army campaign, and not of the destructive forces.

There was no need for the academician to be cunning, attributing to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and its author things that they did not say.

United States & Canada

U.S. Gulf War Necessitates 'Radical Changes'

91UF0349A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 2, 16 Jan 91 p 5

[Article by Edgar Cheporov, correspondent for IAN and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "Iraq Loses. Does America Win?"]

[Text] New York—President George Bush called 15 January the "final deadline" for the beginning of the war with Iraq. But he added: "I cannot tell you that I know what I will do at midnight on the date this deadline runs out." Does this mean that there is some chance of postponing war or perhaps even finding a peaceful solution? Jordan, Yemen, and Tunisia have undertaken to persuade Saddam Husayn to comply with the resolution of the UN Security Council. The French president suggests holding an extraordinary meeting of the Security Council in order to postpone the date for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait. They put forth the idea of creating UN "buffer" forces—between the American and Iraqi troops. Saddam would not "lose face" and the UN troops could keep track of his men.

The debates and the voting in the U.S. Congress confirmed how contradictory the legislators' attitude is toward the role assumed by Washington in the present Near East crisis.

So, should they fight or let the economic sanctions "work?" CIA Director William Webster made public a letter in which he supported the President. But he, too, thought that in six months the effects of a year-long embargo would force Saddam to admit defeat. I do not think that man could draw this line. If they did not know, in a year the presidential campaign would be gathering steam and any uncertainty would be bad for the Republicans. So the choice was not simple for those participating in the voting.

The night before the discussion in the Senate James Jeffords, a Republican legislator with many years of tenure, a former lieutenant in the American Navy and a participant in the Suez events, admitted to reporters that it was extremely difficult to decide which resolution to vote for.

But still J. Jeffords voted for the "military" resolution. It passed the Senate by five votes, and the House of Representatives by 67 votes. In the Congress there is no agreement on how to regard the very fact of the adoption of the resolution. Some thought that it is tantamount to a declaration of war, while others saw in this document a "diplomatic action" intended to urge Iraq to get out of Kuwait.

Both American politicians and ordinary citizens agree on one thing: Iraq must meet the demands of the UN Security Council and withdraw its troops from Kuwait. The differences begin when it comes to the question of how to achieve this goal. The absolute majority of Americans, as a public opinion poll showed, came to the conclusion that "war in the Persian Gulf is inevitable." At the same time, two-thirds of the participants in the poll think that diplomatic methods of emerging from the crisis are preferable to military ones, and even after 15 January the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait had to be achieved by peaceful means.

A reader's letter to THE NEW YORK TIMES: "The application of military force and even winning the war," writes James Carson from Macon, "will lead to the loss of thousands of lives, will split the country even more deeply than it was split during Vietnam, will exacerbate the economic recession, and, possibly, will lead to a crisis. Oil fields we intend to protect will be destroyed. The entire Arab world will unite against the United States. Acts of terrorism will be waged against us. Israel will be attacked and, possible, impetus will be given to use nuclear weapons. Even if we win, we will suffer a defeat."

Having aggravated the situation to the limit, the present conflict, as never before, has forced both the Near East and the West and the whole world community to think about the need for radical changes in the region. War will inevitably place new barriers in the way of these changes, and new conflicts will be added to the old ones.

Obukhov Meets U.S. Ambassador for Gulf Talks

LD1701145191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jan (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov received today Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, for a talk at the latter's request. It concerned the situation in the light of the latest events in the Persian Gulf, as well as certain current questions of a bilateral dialogue.

Belonogov, Petrovskiy Meet U.S., French Envoys

PM1701135391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Consultations in USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] On 15 January, USSR Deputy Foreign Ministers A.M. Belonogov and V.F. Petrovskiy received respectively J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador in Moscow, and J.-M. Merillon, the French ambassador, to discuss the acutely critical situation in the Persian Gulf region in the context of the UN Security Council consultative session under way in New York on the results of J. Perez de Cuellar's recent mission to Baghdad.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Sends Messages to Arab, Israeli Leaders

LD1801150691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today sent personal messages to the heads of states and governments of the Arab states, stressing the danger of the moment and drawing the attention of the leaders of the Arab countries to the attempts to manipulate the heightened feelings of the Arabs, and to the intention of pushing them toward kindling an Arab-Israeli confrontation. This was announced at a news briefing that took place here today by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov. The USSR president's message to the heads of Arab states contains a call to display wisdom, and a well-considered and responsible approach.

The diplomat informed the journalists that today, as yesterday, the Soviet leadership and Mikhail Gorbachev personally continued actively and vigorously to deal with the dangerous crisis that had emerged in the Near East.

Aleksandr Belogonov reported also that in the afternoon the consul general of the State of Israel in the Soviet Union was invited to the USSR Foreign Ministry. He was handed "the text of an appeal to the Israeli leadership." "This appeal," the diplomat said, "contains a call for the Israeli Government to show the utmost circumspection and restraint and not to yield to provocations."

The USSR president, Aleksandr Belogonov said, also sent personal messages on the same issue to the leaders of UN Security Council permanent member states and of a number of other states.

Reports Note Belonogov's Response to War in Gulf

Reads Foreign Ministry Statement

LD1801153391 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 18 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Sergey Ryabinkin]

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov addressed a briefing here today. He read a statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, which said:

"On the night of January 17 Iraq staged missile attacks on the suburbs of Tel Aviv, Haifa and some other populated localities of Israel.

"Obviously, the purpose of that action was to transform the Kuwaiti problem into a regional conflict and to kindle military conflagration throughout the Middle East.

"The Soviet Union has firmly opposed this development of events and expressed this view during contacts with the Iraqi leadership. We believe that it is not desirable to resolve one problem by creating another. If one conflict developed into another, even more extensive and complicated, this would be dangerous, primarily for peoples of that region.

"In this crucial moment we again urge the Iraqi leadership to display a sense of realism and to understand that its actions, starting with the invasion of Kuwait, bring about nothing but more casualties and destruction to the Iraqi people and more suffering to the whole of the region. Arab leaders, who are responsible for the well-being of their nations, cannot fail to understand it. We hope that Arabs will not yield to emotions and will not permit themselves to be drawn into promoting another outbreak of military confrontation with Israel.

"The Soviet Union hopes that the Israeli government will also display the needed restraint and will not take the path leading to further heightening of tension in the Middle East.

"The Soviet Union again firmly supports the settlement of the Kuwait crisis on the basis of well-known resolutions of the U.N. Security Council, as well as the early settlement of other conflict situations in the Middle East. The peoples of the region should finally be given peace and tranquil life".

Notes Need to 'Exginguish' Conflict

PM1801121391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 6

[TASS report: "The USSR's Position: The Conflict Must Not Be Allowed To Spread"]

[Text] Following a nighttime telephone call from U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker to USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh at home the Soviet Union made a last attempt to convince Saddam Husayn of the need for an immediate troop withdrawal from Kuwait. But it was too late. Hostilities had already begun. Soviet and foreign journalists were told this 17 January at a news conference held by V.N. Ignatenko, leader of the USSR President's Press Service, and A.M. Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Thus the Soviet president learned of the decision to use force against Iraq approximately one hour before hostilities began. Answering a question about whether Saddam Husayn had been told the precise time for opening fire, A.M. Belonogov stressed that "we did not have the moral right to divulge to anybody information received from the American side on a confidential basis." There was therefore a need for one more conversation with J. Baker, which took place when war was already in progress.

The news conference opened 20 minutes after M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Soviet Television. What had preceded that? V.N. Ignatenko reported that the "working day" in the Kremlin began virtually immediately the war started in the Persian Gulf zone. USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, Vice President G.I. Yanayev, ministers A.A. Bessmertnykh, V.A. Kryuchkov, and D.T. Yazov, and also Ye.M. Primakov, V.M. Falin, and others participated in the discussion of the situation. "The work is continuing," the president's aide said.

A.M. Belonogov stressed that since 2 August 1990 the Soviet Union did everything to avert a military solution to the conflict. The main efforts were geared to talks with Iraq. The Iraqi leadership was repeatedly sent messages containing the Soviet assessment of the aggression against Kuwait and the refusal to withdraw the troops from that country. "We appealed to the Iraqi leader's feelings and reason," he said.

Everything must be done to extinguish the conflict as speedily as possible and not allow it to spread "so the war does not engulf the entire region," the USSR Foreign Ministry representative continued.

Churkin's Reactions to War in Gulf Noted

Cites Gorbachev Plea to Iraq

LD1701152191 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Soviet ambassador to Baghdad, Viktor Posuvalyuk, met Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz in the Foreign Ministry "bunker" last night to hand him a message from President Mikhail Gorbachev to President Saddam Husayn, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here.

Vitaliy Churkin described the message as a "firm and unambiguous" call for declaring readiness to withdraw Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

He also said that 123 Soviet nationals returned to Moscow from Baghdad last night, with 112 more remaining in Iraq.

The latter include 32 people with the embassy, two at the consulate-general in Basra, 44 in the trade mission, at the offices of foreign trade organisations and at the polyclinic, and 34 specialists helping to mothball various equipment at economic cooperation projects, Churkin said.

The specialists are staying in Baghdad, al-Sulaymaniyah (a city 250 kilometers north of the capital) and al-Diwaniyah (160 kilometers south of Baghdad), he said.

Interviewed on Soviets in Iraq

LD1801075191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Interview with USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Vitaliy Churkin by Vladimir Pasko; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] While talking about the events in Iraq today, I would like to touch upon one issue which was in the center of attention of the Soviet public a week before the war. I mean the statement by Comrade Shevardnadze that the Soviet Union will protect the life, honor and dignity of Soviet citizens wherever they are. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday that the war in Iraq caught 112 Soviet diplomats off guard. The staff of trade missions, foreign trade associations, doctors and security workers at Soviet representations abroad. All of them stayed there voluntarily to continue to carry out their duties. We managed to evacuate 8,500 Soviet people from Iraq and Kuwait, which was occupied by Iraq, in an exceptionally short period of time.

Iraq, as is known, tried to prevent this to start with, but the statement by Comrade Shevardnadze radically changed the attitude of the Iraqi leadership to this issue. His statement was used by some people as an excuse to accuse the Soviet leadership, however, without any grounds, of an intention to send Soviet troops to the region of the conflict. At present, passions surrounding this issue seemed to have quieted down. Still, my colleague Vladimir Pasko has decided to raise this issue again in a conversation with Vitality Churkin, head of the information dirtectorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. So, what is the opinion of the Soviet diplomat?

[Churkin] Maybe it is not worth it now to revise the past? Iraq has also tried, if I may use such an expression, to latch on to this statement and to say that the Soviet Union is going to send its troops to the Persian Gulf. During these five months we have been categorically denying the existence of such plans, in all our most authoritative statements. Even if they were talking about something at that particular moment, including Iraqis, and our political figures who were expressing a strong stand against this statement, still the most important thing for me is that it has yielded the desired effect and that Soviet people could return to their homeland.

In this case, the result shows who was right and who was not very right, and who tried to use such a subtle issue as the fate of Soviet people for their own political purposes. I think that such situations, when we talk about the life, safety and fate of the Soviet people, should be avoided.

[Pasko] I personally look at this issue as a vivid example showing that one must take statements of the Soviet diplomacy at face value.

[Churkin] It goes without saying that we would like official statements by the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be well considered. It is true that in our everyday work—this was stated by Shevardnadze in his time, and I am sure that a new minister of foreign affairs, of course, will pursue this policy—we have started to devote particular attention to this aspect. When issues linked to safety, honor, dignity and the life of the Soviet citizens appear, then all efforts are made to resolve these issues.

For example, in a recent situation in Somalia, when Soviet people were quickly evacuated from Mogadishu, was one more proof of this policy in practice, and if you like of an increased interest to the fate of Soviet citizens. We all, of course, remember that certain contempt we used to have for issues of an individual, which had established over centuries. In the present circumstances, I could say that our new approach is yet another real manifestation of the new political thinking in the external arena.

Reports Follow Missile Strike Against Israel

Saddam Said 'Provoking' Israel

LD1801112891 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 18 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—By delivering a missile strike against Israel, Saddam Husayn was deliberately provoking it to retaliatory actions. This would complicate the position of the multinational forces and, primarily, that of Arab countries that have condemned Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, Sergey Blagovolin, head of the Department for Military-Economic and Military-Political Studies at the Institute for the World Economy and International Relations, told TASS today.

"Israel's formal involvement in the conflict may tell on the morale of part of the Armed Forces of Arab countries. Israel's entry into war would create an extremely awkward situation, under which Arab countries would join Israel in the fight against the Arab country", Blagovolin said.

"This is why I believe that Israel should stay away and enable the United States and other countries, the troops of which are part of the multinational forces, to complete the military opertion against Iraq," Blagovolin emphasised.

Signals 'Dangerous Turn of Events'

LD1801094191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0921 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan (TASS)—The missile strike of Israel by Iraq, carried out last night, signifies a new dangerous turn of events in the region of conflict. From the very start of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, the Soviet Union has been doing everything possible to prevent a military solution and to persuade the Iraqi leadership of the need to comply with the world community's just demands.

The Soviet Union expresses concern over the new development of the Persian Gulf situation. In connection with this (as the TASS correspondent learned from well-informed sources) an official statement on the latest events in the region of conflict is expected today.

Desire To Retaliate 'Understandable'

LD1801145491 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 18 Jan 91

[By TASS political analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy: "Will Israel Go to War?—TASS comment"]

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Tragic developments in the Gulf took a new dramatic turn last night. The Iraqi commandment [as received] switched from threats to deeds, firing short-range missiles at Israeli population centres, including Tel Aviv.

The eight explosions in the dead of the night fortunately killed no one, but 12 people were injured. The air raid alarm included calls on civilians to use gas masks, as Baghdad had previously threatened to use chemical and even bacteriological weapons against Israel.

Nevertheless, the incident calls for a response, as Israeli Chief of Staff Dan Shomron put it. Israeli Ambassador to the United States Salman Shoval [name as received] was direct, claiming for Israel the right to respond in the way it finds suitable. It should be stressed that a response will mean Israel's involvement in the war, an involvement that no one welcomes.

Many insist that this move will do irreparable harm to the unity of the multi-national forces, of which key Arab countries are a major political and military component.

The situation is viewed in a similar light from the banks of the Potomac river. Israeli Radio, for instance, reported that Washington had promised the Israeli leadership that the United States would deal an intensive blow to the remaining Iraqi missile installations aimed at Israel.

It is easy to understand how Israelis feel about this barbarous and unjustified random firing of missiles, even without chemical or other mass-destruction warheads, at Israeli cities. The desire of the Israeli military to punish Baghdad is also understandable. But Tel Aviv should take into account that the retaliation will draw Israel into a war and undermine the united front against the aggressor, thus playing into Iraq's hand in response to its obvious act of provocation.

Any form of response—whether using missiles or combat aircraft—can be carried out only by violating the airspace of Syria and Jordan, geographic shields of Iraq. The move could provoke an extremely acute conflict with unpredictable consequences. Israel's political leaders must think hard before deciding their move.

Finally, it is surprising that the Israeli military failed to use U.S.-supplied missiles to intercept Iraqi missiles. The Iraqi Skada [as received] missile fired on Friday at a target on Saudi territory was effectively intercepted and destroyed by the Patriot anti-missile missile.

Various Reactions to War in Gulf Reported

Official Expresses 'Grief'

LD1701121291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0758 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jan (TASS)—Vladimir Kuzmenok, deputy chairman of the General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions, expressed the profound grief of millions of Soviet working people in connection with the start of war operations in the Persian Gulf zone. "The actions of the Iraqi politicians who have provoked mass killing of people cannot be justified by any motives," the trade union leader noted in a conversation with the TASS correspondent. "Aware of the dangerous development of events in the Near East way back in November, during the 12th world congress of trade unions in Moscow, in conversations with the Iraqi delegation members we stated our lack of understanding for the Iraqi leadership's intransigent position with regard to Kuwait and for the refusal to resolve by peaceful means the conflict which has now come to a head. Now that the military confrontation has become a reality, Soviet working people and their trade unions aredntly wish for this senseless bloodshed to be brought to a halt and for a political settlement of a conflict which could lead to serious consequences for the whole of mankind," stressed Vladimir Kuzmenok.

Expert Views Military Maneuvers

LD1701175891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1222 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS military observer Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jan (TASS)—The start of military actions in the Persian Gulf region undoubtedly arouses a feeling of profound regret. Throughout the five months since Iraq's seizure of Kuwait the whole world hoped that the Iraqi leaders would show common sense and would listen to the voice of the world community expressed in the known resolutions of the UN Security Council. What is going on now in the region is caused by the Iraqi leadership's behavior. Both Iraq and other countries in the region will pay an excessively high price for the reckless actions of official Baghdad.

Nevertheless, as a military expert, I am interested in the military actions themselves. It seems that the first phase was carefully planned in advance and skilfully carried out. What new military developments have been demonstrated here? In the first place the priority of actions of the branches of the Armed Forces has been changed. As is known, the "classic" formula gives the main role to land forces in military actions, and the air force supports them. Here everything has been different: I would say that the basic blows of strategic, decisive significance were struck by the Air Forces. Over the four-hour phase of air raids the Americans were able to mainly destroy the Iraqi Air Force airports and bases, and also Iraq's missile sites; destroy arsenals of chemical and bacteriological weapons; take out of action the atomic center near Baghdad where potential nuclear weapons could be produced; and destroy military factories.

It is impossible to deny that the main task has been carried out during the first phase of military actions because the material base of the aggressor has been severely damaged.

The use of only the Air Forces in the first strike has allowed the losses of the attacking side to be significantly limited and effective results achieved over a large territory. So without doubt the start of military operations from the military point of view can be considered successful.

What forecasts can be made for the future? Of course, it is impossible to reach categorical conclusions. Nevertheless, evidently it is already now possible to suppose that the war will be short of the United States limits itself to expelling the aggressor from the territory of Kuwait and does not continue the war on Iraqi territory. In my view it is precisely such a solution which would be optimal for all especially as on Iraqi territory itself the most dangerous—from the point of view of future peace in the region—bases have already been liquidated.

In conclusion I would like to touch on one further circumstance. The main brunt—both on the political and military plane—is now being borne by the United States in solving the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Of course it is implementing the decision of the world community. Nevertheless, some people are trying to present the events taking place as a war between the United States and Iraq. Is the situation which has been created not a distinctive lesson for the future? Would it not be better to activate the military staff committee of the UN Security Council, subordinate to it in similar cases the Armed Forces of the countries punishing the aggressor?

Hopes For 'Miracle' Dashed

LD1701170191 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1400 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Commentary by Andrey Vasiliyev]

[Text] The multinational forces, led by the United States, have started combat operations against Iraq with a view to liberating occupied Kuwait. Last night the U.S. Air Force carried out intensive raids on military installations in Iraq and Kuwait.

Our commentator Andrey Vasiliyev comments: Thus, the war has begun. He adds that he is confident that this has come as a surprise for many people in the world despite the fact that the command of the multinational forces in the last few weeks did not hide its determination to set the military machine in motion. Saddam Husayn, for his part, did not hide his intention to keep Kuwait, which he calls Iraq's 19th province, to the last soldier, in addition to his intention to liberate Palestine, Mecca, Medina, the Golan Heights, and Lebanon from the Zionists and their reactionary agents.

Despite all this, hundreds of thousands of people took part in anti-war demonstrations in Europe and the United States in the hope of a miracle which would keep the opposing armies apart at the last minute. But the miracle did not happen, although the Iraqi president held the key to this miracle in his hand. He did not need to do much; all he had to do was to give back to the small (Kuwaiti) people their freedom and independence. This is exactly what the entire world wanted, not Saddam Husayn's blood nor the blood of the ordinary Iraqis, who have no means of influencing the political direction followed by their president.

In the end the European states, which traditionally adopt a cautious stand with regard to resolving Middle East issues, agreed that justice must be done by the use of force. The possible reason behind this is that in Europe they still remember very well the events which started with the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany. It is also probably meaningless now to predict how events will develop from a military point of view, especially since the situation is changing every hour [words indistinct].

Gorbachev, speaking on Soviet TV, declared that events are taking a dramatic turn, due to the Iraqi leadership's refusal to implement the demands of the international community and withdraw its troops from Kuwait. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev also indicated that his country has done its utmost from the outset to resolve the conflict through peaceful means. Because of our awareness of the disastrous consequences for the world, for the Arab peoples and the American people, and for the international situation which is threatened by the risk of war, with the use of huge numbers of troops and modern military equipment, we deeply deplore the failure to avoid the military confrontation.

President Mikhail Gorbachev added that the Soviet leadership will rapidly take all measures to stop the war and establish peace.

Saddam Held Responsible

LD1701142191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0902 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jan (TASS)—Persistent attempts to avoid war in the Middle East have ended in failure. One can neither explain nor forgive the policy of Saddam Husayn which has led to this development of events in this region, considers Aleksandr Kozlov, director of the Peace Institute and leading specialist of the Institute of International Economics and International Relations.

The thing that the overwhelming majority of mankind hoped to avoid by finding ways for a political settlement of what is perhaps the most acute crisis in recent years has come to pass, he told the TASS correspondent.

Now it is difficult to predict the consequences of these events he observed, but one thing is clear: The split in the Arab world is becoming even deeper and this will make it even more difficult to settle other very acute problems of the Middle East and, first and foremost, the Palestine problem.

Innocent people, upon whom the enormous military might concentrate in the Persian Gulf region has been unleashed, are suffering as a result of the obstinacy of Saddam Husayn. One would like to believe, however, that negative experience is also experience, the scholar said, and that other aggressors who harbor plans or who would allow themselves to occupy the lands of other countries and peoples will draw the appropriate conclusion from what has happened and reject such positions.

'Panic' Seen Among Iraqis

LD1801133791 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Commentary by military observer Colonel Vadim Solovyev]

[Text] Our military observer, Colonel Vadim Solovyev, assessing the situation in the Persian Gulf:

Vadim Solovyev is saying the war in the Persian Gulf has become a fact and this arouses the feeling of profound regret. It seems that not all the possibilities of a peace settlement have been used. The Iraqi leader's irrational political thinking largely predetermined the use of military force.

The multinational coalition forces have managed to take advantage of the surprise launch of military operations. As expected, reliance was on air raids and missile strikes. More than 1,000 sorties were carried out over the first 14 hours of war. Iraq and occupied Kuwait have been hit by over 100 conventional Tomahawk missiles fired from U.S. ships. The Air Forces of the United States, Britain, and other coalition countries are mounting their bombing strikes.

The United States Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has admitted that the destruction of targets for the first 24 hours amounted to 80 percent. The Iraqi Air Force has been paralyzed. The only retaliatory strike has been two tactical missiles fired at the town of Dhahran in northern Saudi Arabia. One of the rockets was intercepted by American missiles in the air; the other fell on the airfield without particular damage.

There was an attempt to expand the war territorially on Friday night when Iraq shelled Israel. Three missiles fell on the Tel Aviv area; two rockets fell on Haifa, and two rockets dropped into the Red Sea. Experts are carrying out an investigation. The United States has asked Israel not to strike on Iraq on its own but carefuly coordinate attacks with the American command.

Reports about the losses have been contradictory. Iraq claims it has damaged more than 50 planes of the coalition forces but according to the other side not more than eight aircraft have been damaged. There have been civilian casualties in Iraq, as is reported. The yield of the bombs dropped on the coalition forces [as heard] over the first 24 hours alone exceeds that of the atomic bomb that obliterated Hiroshima in 1945 by 50 percent.

Reports from Iraq say there is panic among the population. With Husayn's announcement of [an] additional draft in the Army, columns of refugees have moved to Turkey and Iran. Cases of desertion in the Iraqi Armed Forces have not been isolated. The operative and strategic initiative has been on the coalition forces' side, but apparently it is too early to draw the final conclusion since there has been no ground battle and the coalition forces have been evading them. It is on the ground that the cost of victory will be determined.

That information was provided by our military observer Colonel Vadim Solovyev.

'Unpredictable Consequences' Seen

PM1701191191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent V. Gan under the general heading: "Morning in America"]

[Excerpt] Washington—[passage omitted] The fact itself that military operations had begun in the Persian Gulf region came as no surprise. War was just a matter of time after the expiry of the deadline set by the UN Security Council for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwaiti territory. People had been expecting it, although until the last moment they tried to suppress a frightening thought: Surely not today, now? When the firestorm rose up in the distant desert, the response to it was simply fear.

There is no denying that President Bush has shouldered a very heavy burden of responsibility before the country and the world. The question of the unpredictable consequences of war has now essentially been put point-blank. You do not have to be particularly experienced in politics to realize that it is a question of the conflict's tremendous potential impact on the Near East status quo, on the world economy, on the whole complex of international relations, and on the new world order which is only beginning to emerge after the end of the "cold war."

It is hard to say what impression the President's address made on the country as a whole. Spontaneous protest demonstrations took place in some cities, including Washington. As regards political commentators, in their opinion Bush succeeded in substantiating Washington's actions quite convincingly. This was also the first reaction of the Congress, which has rallied around the President at this time. In particular, J. Warner, a prominent Senator, said: "I definitely consider that he has succeeded in this. I am satisfied that the constitutional process formulated by the founding fathers was observed. I am also satisfied that he did not pull the trigger right after the expiry of the UN deadline but still gave Husayn time for diplomacy." Senator C. Dodd, who voted against granting the President powers to conduct military operations, said: "The debate is behind us, and now it is important to unite in support of our forces."

T. Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives, pointed out: "We are all very concerned and want the war to be over with the minimum loss of life." "The time has come to support our President. We had a debate, it was exhaustive, and we must now stand shoulder to shoulder," Sen. D. Riegle said. Representatives L. Aspin and D. Fascell, Sen. R. Byrd, and a number of other legislators expressed themselves in the same spirit. On the whole, so it is reported, the overwhelming majority of members of Congress—both Democrats and Republicans—fully supported Bush's step.

Meanwhile, the war, which has cruelly invaded the lives of Americans, is only just gathering momentum. Forecasts vary. From optimistic (it will be over in a couple of days, they say) to depressing (combat operations might drag on indefinitely). It is clear that to make forecasts at the first stage is tantamount to building a house on sand.

Possible Scenarios Examined

PM1701203591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

[Commentary by Major R. Mustafin: "...And Then War Began"]

[Excerpts] During the night of 16-17 January the multinational force began combat operations against Iraq. The very acute military-political crisis in the Persian Gulf region, which was begun five and a half months ago when Iraq occupied Kuwait, entered a new stage—the stage of armed struggle. The package of political, diplomatic, and economic actions undertaken by the world community with the aim of resolving the crisis situation did not meet with a positive reaction from the Iraqi leadership. It did not heed the appeals proceeding from the Soviet Union right up to the last moment. The hopes for a peaceful settlement of the conflict were not realized. [passage omitted]

Observers point out that the Americans achieved total tactical surprise, as a result of which the Iraqi air defense system was neutralized, and the Iraqi Air Force—

approximately 700 aircraft—was reportedly almost totally destroyed on the ground. According to recent reports, tank units of the multinational force have also joined in the operations.

It is, of course, still too early to say how events will develop. But it can already be said that, if the Iraqi Air Force and missile bases really have been destroyed, then the likelihood of the conflagration of war spreading to other countries in the region has obviously been lessened, and the allies will succeed in localizing the conflict within Kuwait and Iraq. Let us also point out that the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear center and other important installations has weakened Baghdad's possibility of using mass destruction weapons.

But, however the combat operations develop, the very fact that war has begun is worthy of deep regret. Alas, diplomacy proved powerless. Yes, Iraq remained deaf to the world community's appeals. Yet I believe that the United States, too, could have shown greater patience and restraint.

It is all the more important to emphasize this because the Americans' initial success still might not guarantee a quick and almost bloodless war and a localized conflict. The Armed Forces of Jordan, Israel, and other countries in the region are in a state of combat readiness. There is a danger that acts of sabotage and terrorism will begin.

All that has happened in the Persian Gulf zone, however, does not mean that the path to peace is totally closed. The news of the start of the war has been received with alarm and concern in the world. It has provoked a wave of spontaneous protest demonstrations in various countries. Demands to stop the bloodshed and prevent people's deaths are spreading.

May Signal 'New World War'

PM1701204391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Article by V. Afanasyev: "Bloodshed Could Have Been Avoided"]

[Text] So, the war to "punish" Iraq, about which so much has been said and which many people so did not want, has begun just the same. Peace has proved very fragile and unreliable.

The attempts at a peaceful settlement of the conflict were exhausted, and weapons began to speak. But is this so? Was there really no possibility of preventing war? What consequences will it have for the destiny of the region? Bombs and missiles will fall not only on Iraqi military targets. The war will inevitably pass like a deadly roller over peaceful, quite innocent people. They are "guilty," maybe, only of supporting the policy of their country's leadership. During my trip to Iraq last December I repeatedly heard Iraqis say that they will defend their motherland if the enemy attacks. Can ordinary Iraqis, an entire people, be reproached with this? Can Iraq alone be held responsible for the start of combat operations 17 January?

According to the principles of international law, it is necessary to refrain in one's international relations from the threat or use of force both against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state and in any other way incompatible with the aims of the United Nations. At the same time, Kuwait and its people have a right to struggle to restore their independence by any means available to them. So why are the voices of protest against this war so poorly audible? Why is the "punishing" of Iraq presented by some people in the United States, Israel, and the West as a "change of regime" and a "routing of the Army" of Iraq? Why do the world public and the Soviet public not speak of routing the Army of another aggressor—Israel, which "punished" Lebanon in 1982 and denies the right to exist to an entire nation—the Arab people of Palestine, who simply do not exist for Israel's Zionist leadership? Why does the world community not punish the United States, which committed aggression against Grenada and Panama, changed the regimes there allegedly for the purpose of "restoring democracy," and is preparing an illegal—from the viewpoint of international law—trial of the Panamanian leader, Manuel Antonio Noriega?

The clock has been wound and is counting off the seconds. Missile and bombing strikes against Iraq could be the start of a new world war.

We have already suffered tremendous losses in this conflict. As I was told at the USSR Trade Mission in Baghdad, during the more than 30-year period of Soviet-Iraqi cooperation our specialists worked on dozens of projects and provided various services and advice. There were more than 90 such projects.

Almost one-fourth of the capacities of Iraq's oil-extracting industry were commissioned with the USSR's assistance, and oil sales gave Iraq 98 percent of its hard currency receipts.

By the beginning of December the USSR's direct losses alone under current contracts totaled approximately $1 billion, and I was told at the trade mission in the middle of December that these losses could reach $10 billion in the very near future.

Peaceful projects built with Soviet assistance could also suffer in the course of military operations. Soviet people invested in them not just their labor but part of their soul.

But here a question inevitably arises: Should we in this case reckon with economic losses if Iraq committed aggression against Kuwait and it is a question of restoring justice? Yes, but not at the expense of the annihilation of peaceful inhabitants! If we have started speaking of the priority of common human values, should we forget about the thousands of peaceful Iraqis who will die or be crippled in this fiery furnace?

The war, which some people greeted as long-awaited (I am not speaking of the Kuwaitis!), could inflict irreplaceable losses on all mankind, and then it might be a question of saving all human civilization. This cannot be permitted!

IZVESTIYA Gives Gulf War Overview, Forecasts

PM1701192191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent V. Nadein: "America During the First Hours of War"]

[Text] Washington—Wars usually start in the predawn gloom, and this one was no exception. It was approximately 0300 Baghdad time (1900 Washington time) when the Air Forces of four states—the United States, Britain, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait—began fulfilling the order to commence operation Desert Storm. The air forces of France, Italy, Germany, and other allies joined them in a second wave.

The most important bases, communications centers, capacities for the production of chemical and nuclear weapons, and the command centers of the Iraqi Army both on the territory of Iraq itself and in Kuwait were subjected to a missile and bombing strike from the air. There were no reports regarding the two sides' losses during the first hours.

At 1905, all U.S. news channels interrupted their programs to give their screens over to White House Press Secretary M. Fitzwater. He briefly said that the allies had embarked on the liberation of Kuwait and that the country's President would deliver a message to the nation at 2100.

Even half an hour before then the CNN TV company was the first in the world to report by means of telephone reports from three of its outstanding staffers that battle had been joined over Baghdad, however.

The journalists Bernard Shaw, Peter Arnett, and John Holliman are broadcasting continuously from a room with a panoramic view on the top floor of the 16-story Al-Rashid Hotel in downtown Baghdad. They did not leave their official post even during the minutes of intensive bombing of the city. Their presence has been approved by the Iraqi minister of information, because his government does not object to extensive and comprehensive coverage of the conflict. P. Arnett and J. Holliman have experience of covering the Vietnam war.

The Al-Rashid Hotel is in the part of the city that could suffer from a U.S. air raid only as the result of a mistake. As General C. Powell, chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, confirmed today, his intelligence has spent five and one half months studying the location of targets in Iraq in order to simultaneously knock out important military installations but not harm the peaceful population. According to recent reports, individual residential buildings located next to government establishments were destroyed as the result of a two-hour bombing raid.

President Bush addressed the nation from his Oval Office in the White House. With conviction he repeated in a concise form the theses which he has expressed many times in the course of this crisis, including the promise that "there will not be a second Vietnam."

Commentators called the President's speech inspiring and optimistic but found nothing unexpected in that. According to U.S. tradition, a president who starts a war has just one means for reelection—a quick and bloodless victory.

Speaking at a news conference soon after the President's statement, U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chair C. Powell warned journalists of their reluctance to disclose plans for the next steps. They spoke of the results of the air raid with obvious relief and promised to inform the U.S. people in good time, but they avoided making specific data public because of the early stage of the whole operation.

The Pentagon's subsequent reports were distinguished by the utmost satisfaction. According to them, the allies' aircraft penetrated the Iraqi radar defense system without hindrance and totally destroyed the country's missile and air potential. This had included more than 700 aircraft and a considerable number of Scud "surface-to-surface" missiles. It is believed here that the threat of a missile attack against Israel and Saudi Arabia has now diminished substantially, if not eliminated altogether.

President Bush did not rule out the possibility of halting military operations if the Iraqi people manage to make the dictator change his mind. At the same time, the U.S. leader made it clearly understood that post-Husayn Iraq has every chance of peace and prosperity, while the [UN] secretary general in passing expressed regret at the fact that he was not informed in advance of the time for the start of the military operation.

President Bush issued the order to carry out Desert Storm at 1600 eastern time on 16 January. It was midnight in Baghdad.

The whole time thereafter the White House was in constant contact with the allies of 28 nations. U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker telephoned Moscow and spoke with A. Bessmertnykh, the recently elected USSR foreign minister.

Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir learned of the start of combat operations one hour before they began.

Both B-52 strategic bombers and fighter bombers based on six U.S. aircraft carriers cruising in the Persian Gulf region participated in the first raid. To all appearances, cruise missiles were also launched from the battleship Wisconsin.

According to recent reports, a decision has been adopted to refrain from subsequent air raids in order to gather information on the true scale of destruction and the Iraqi side's losses. Included in these is not only the loss of the possibility of using chemical, missile, and, in the long term, nuclear weapons, not only the total destruction of the Iraqi ruler's palace in Baghdad, but also the massive losses borne by the elite Republican Guard.

If these reports are confirmed, the war for which the U.S. leaders have prepared with uncommon care and energy for almost six months may end earlier and more certainly than even extreme optimists had been predicting.

Commentators are naming—previously timidly but now increasingly confidently—as one of the reasons for the lightning outcome, by the yardsticks of such a large-scale war, the gap which has formed between the latest military technologies of the West's armies and the inventive in its own way yet essentially out-of-date Soviet-made combat hardware which constituted the material base of the Iraqi Army. They also believe that the fighting spirit of that Army was extremely exaggerated, since servility was considered devotion.

The appeals which S. Husayn made to the country's population on Baghdad television early in the morning are hardly capable of turning around the course of combat operations. A sufficient number of fanatics will hardly be found to conduct successful partisan operations in the open desert. It is also possible to guess that S. Husayn's many political enemies are just waiting for the moment to settle scores with him for relatives and friends who have died or been tortured and abused.

Belonogov Receives PLO Adviser to 'Arafat

LD1801092891 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov received Dr. Zehdi Terzi, PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat's adviser for U.N. and international organisations' affairs, on Thursday.

The crisis in the Middle East and possibilities for settling the Gulf conflict were discussed.

Comparison on Gorbachev Gulf War Statement

PM1801113191

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 18 January 1991 in its Second Edition on page 1 carries a report on President Gorbachev's 17 January TV address. The PRAVDA item, entitled "USSR President's Statement," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow Central Television version published in the Near East & South Asia section of the 17 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 9-10, revealing the following variations:

Page 9, column two, paragraph one begins: [Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev delivered the following statement on Central Television on 17 January:

Comrades!

During the night war broke out... (picking up paragraph)

Page 10, column one, paragraph two, last sentence reads: ...the interests of the Iraqi people themselves and the interests of peace in the... (adding phrase)

Paragraph three, sentence two reads: ...only life-saving step. During the night we appealed to... (rewording)

Latin America & Caribbean

Official Speaks on Trade Relations with Cuba

AU1701151491 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 9 Jan 91 p 3

[CTK report: "Conducting Trade Instead of Providing Assistance"]

[Text] The current stage of the development of economic relations between the USSR and Cuba can be succinctly described as the start of real and equal trading relations instead of providing economic assistance to Cuba. Yevgeniy Kuznetsov, USSR Embassy to Cuba first secretary and chief economic adviser, said this in an interview with a CTK reporter.

In the view of the fact that economic relations between the USSR and Cuba are very important for further political development in Cuba, a CTK reporter inquired about the details of the new trade agreement between the USSR and Cuba that was signed in Moscow on 29 December 1990. Kuznetsov characterized this year's period of business transactions between the USSR and Cuba as a transitional period. He stated that the overwhelming majority of business transactions will be conducted on the basis of clearing and that the USSR will not, in fact, grant any credits to Cuba.

With a few exceptions, the USSR and Cuba will conduct business in world prices this year, which applies also to important commodities such as nickel, for instance. Sugar may serve as an example of a compromise solution. In all probability, the price of sugar will be fixed at between $500 and $600 per tonne, which is slightly more than the upper limit of world prices. Cuba required, however, that the USSR pay $800 for a tonne of Cuban sugar. As far as the volume is concerned, the new agreement envisages that Cuba will supply over four million tonnes of sugar to the USSR. In an ideal case, the USSR will supply an equal quantity of crude oil as in 1990, which should represent slightly less than 10 million tonnes, said Kuznetsov.

The overall Cuban debt to the USSR is approaching 16 billion rubles. Under the new conditions, this debt will have to be recalculated in dollars. So far, the coefficients used for this recalculation are not known yet. It is clear, however, that Cuba will not be able to repay this debt with a single payment. Despite this, the USSR is much interested in retaining and updating trading relations with Cuba because if these relations are placed on a sound basis they can be mutually beneficial. Sugar is an example. The USSR could buy its sugar on international markets instead from Cuba. At the same time, however, Cuba would have to offer its sugar on this market and the combination of both factors would cause a destabilization of this market. With an annual turnover of nine billion rubles, Cuba ranked among principal USSR trading partners and, despite the fact that this indicator reflects high prices charged on both sides, there is no reason to break up these trading relations. It will be more efficient to change them into some other form of relations, Kuznetsov stressed.

As far as the level of the Soviet military assistance to Cuba is concerned, the Soviet diplomat stated that this assistance will be directly dependent on the development of the tension surrounding Cuba and on how much relations between Cuba and the United States can be normalized.

Supreme Soviet

Presidium Holds Emergency Session on Gulf

Resolution Published

PM1801115391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet resolution issued at the Kremlin in Moscow on 17 January: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution: On the Military Actions in the Persian Gulf Zone and the Steps Being Undertaken by the Soviet Leadership"]

[Text] The decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on military actions in the Persian Gulf zone and on the measures being undertaken by the Soviet leadership:

Having heard and discussed the report by USSR Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh on the situation in the Persian Gulf zone, and expressing profound regret in connection with the fact that the critical situation in this region has taken a tragic turn and is escalating, in essence, into a large-scale war, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decides:

First, to support the statement by USSR President Gorbachev on military actions in the Persian Gulf area and the steps being undertaken by the Soviet leadership in this regard.

Second, to consider it necessary that the USSR Government, while it consistently continues the Soviet Union's policy regarding the conflict in the Persian Gulf, constantly inform the USSR Supreme Soviet about the development of the events taking place there, and send to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers the proposals and remarks made by the USSR people's deputies during discussion.

Third, to instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs to summarize the information on the present issue and send it to the USSR people's deputies.

In the name of the USSR people's deputies, representing various deputies groups and associations, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium calls on legislators in all countries to use their influence and possibilities to halt the military actions without delay. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium calls on the United Nations and the UN secretary general to renew initiatives on settling the military crisis in the Persian Gulf area and averting its further escalation.

[Signed] Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
The Kremlin, Moscow, 17 January 1991

PRAVDA Reports Discussion

PM1801095491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[Report by Yu. Glukhov on 17 January USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session: "Extinguish the Flames of Conflagration"]

[Text] It was an anxious and sleepless night. The call from Washington to USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh's apartment came at approximately 0200. U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker was on the line. He reported that a military operation against Iraq would begin soon. This information was immediately conveyed to M.S. Gorbachev. On the Soviet president's instructions, urgent new diplomatic efforts to prevent the approaching war began. In particular, an attempt was made, admittedly without result, to contact Iraqi President S. Husayn. But the remaining time was measured in minutes.

At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh set forth in detail, step by step, the events of that terrible night. The session was held yesterday under A.I. Lukyanov's chairmanship, with the participation of representatives of deputies' groups and parties. Just one question was discussed—the military operations in the Persian Gulf zone and the steps being taken by the Soviet leadership.

A.A. Bessmertnykh briefed the session in detail on the emerging military and political situation in the region and the Soviet Union's next steps aimed at normalizing it.

At the session A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, presented an analysis of the possible prospects for the development of events and for a cease-fire.

In the course of a thorough exchange of views attention was focused on moral, legal, military, and political aspects of the conflict. In particular, mention was made of the peculiar nature of the moment when, at the end of the "cold war," one country planned to swallow up another and escape all punishment, all responsibility to the world community. This situation is intolerable. But in creating a precedent for punishing the aggressor, a precedent must not be created for the use of military force.

It was stressed particularly that Saddam Husayn's position is not, of course, the position of the Iraqi people. We are linked to the ancient Iraqi people by deep traditions of friendship and cooperation. These feelings toward the Iraqi people persist, and should not be damaged.

There were also critical comments. The question was raised: Did not the information from Washington on the start of military operations come too late, in view of the new nature of relations between our states, and also, how far are military operations by the Americans appropriate to the present situation? "The nature of Soviet-U.S.

relations presupposes that trust must increase to the maximum, although I personally do not know what is better and what is worse when it is a question of a military operation," A.A. Bessmertnykh replied.

The participants in the session supported USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's statement on military operations in the Persian Gulf zone.

On behalf of the USSR people's deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appealed to the parliamentarians of all countries to use their influence and potential to bring about a speedy end to the war in the Persian Gulf zone.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA on Debate

PM1801100191 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 18 Jan 91 p 3

[Report by Ye. Kubichev: "Feeling of Concern"]

[Text] The urgently convened session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with the participation of representatives of all deputies' groups and parties represented in our legislature lasted over two hours yesterday in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of A.I. Lukyanov.

USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh gave a detailed report on the situation in the Persian Gulf after which a speech was heard from A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs.

I would describe the thorough exchange of opinions which developed in two words: worried concern—both state concern and purely human concern. There was not a speech that failed to voice the idea that it is essential to do everything possible to prevent the military conflict from growing and to restrict it in time and intensiveness.

It was emphasized that the Soviet Union well understands the difference between the people of Iraq, on whom the bloody burden of war is being placed, and S. Husayn, whose irrational mentality created the crisis and caused it to erupt.

The speakers also spoke with great disquiet about how far the military measures are which are being taken by the armed forces of the anti-Husayn coalition correspond to the political situation which has taken shape and to the level of Iraq's military response. As USSR People's Deputy D. Kugultinov said, "there are no short-term wars. Even the briefest war leaves a memory that lasts for centuries."

Lukyanov, Bessmertnykh Speak

LD1701202791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Report by V. Stepanyuk on emergency session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at the Kremlin in Moscow, on 17 January]

[Text] [Stepanyuk] Participating in the work of today's session were not only members of the presidium but also representatives of the parties and deputies groups in the Soviet legislature. The session was opened by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov.

[Lukyanov] I must say the country's leadership and the USSR president throughout last night intently followed the events which were and are now taking place, in the Persian Gulf region. The president made contact with the leadership of the USSR Supreme Soviet at 0200 [2300 GMT on 16 January], and ever since that time we have all been at work and following what has been going on in that region.

[Stepanyuk] Making a detailed report on the situation in the Persian Gulf region, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, USSR minister of foreign affairs, noted in particular:

[Bessmertnykh] Appropriate measures, mainly in the southern regions of our country, were taken before this action, including ensuring the military preparedness and vigilance of our anti- aircraft defense forces. All necessary technical measures have been undertaken. Military intelligence and technical facilities are at work. Our military general staff is being informed about what is going on.

[Stepanyuk] Touching on the moral aspects of the war in the Persian Gulf, the head of the country's foreign policy department stressed in particular:

[Bessmertnykh] For the first time in the 20th century—and I think in the previous centuries—the world community has unanimously decided that if the aggressor does not leave, then it will be necessary to use military force. This is not an instance where someone may use military force according to his own understanding. For this reason, military force has been used. Although this is by a common decision, we nevertheless very greatly regret that it has been used.

[Stepanyuk] Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs, also spoke at the session, after which there was an exchange of opinions.

The participants in the session adopted a decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium on the military actions in the Persian Gulf zone and on the steps being taken by the Soviet leadership.

Deputies Warn Against 'Spread'

PM1701155791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent A. Sychev: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Discusses Events in Persian Gulf"]

[Text] A sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium began in the Kremlin 17 January under the chairmanship of A.I. Lukyanov. Representatives of all deputies' groups and parties represented in the parliament took part. The item on the agenda was the military actions in the Persian Gulf and the Soviet leadership's steps.

USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh delivered a detailed report to the Presidium members. Among other things, he informed the Presidium members that the Soviet leadership had been informed about the opening of military actions one hour in advance. After that the Soviet leadership had undertaken vigorous actions aimed at preventing the occurrence of war in the Persian Gulf. In this regard contacts had been maintained with Washington. It had been suggested to the U.S. President that the Soviet Union propose to Saddam Husayn that he immediately begin the withdrawal of troops from Kuwait. A telegram containing that suggestion had been sent to Baghdad. The president of the Soviet Union had informed the leadership of a number of West European states, India, and Arab countries of his diplomatic actions.

A.A. Bessmertnykh's report is being discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting. Deputies have been stressing in their speeches that it is important now to do everything possible to prevent the spread [razrastaniye] of the military conflict, which is fraught with grave consequences for both the people of Iraq and the entire international community.

TV Carries Debate Recording

LD1801103191 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1902 GMT 17 Jan 91

["Emergency session" of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with representatives of deputies' groups and parties, chaired by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, held at the Kremlin in Moscow on the morning of 17 January—recorded]

[Text] [Lukyanov] Comrades, there is only one matter on this Supreme Soviet presidium session's agenda: the military operations in the Persian Gulf zone and the steps being taken by the Soviet leadership. I have to say that all night the leadership of this country, and the president of the USSR, closely followed the events that were and are taking place in the Persian Gulf region. The president got in touch with the USSR Supreme Soviet leadership as early as 0200, and since then, practically all of us have been at work and following what has been happening in that region. It was decided to convene without delay, today, a session Supreme Soviet presidium to be attended by the leaders of all the deputies' groups and by the leaders and representatives of all the parties represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet in order for the deputies to be fully and completely informed about what is happening in connection with the beginning of the war in the Gulf, and Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

In general, I must say that in these circumstances we must firmly stick to the instruction given to us yesterday at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in connection with the events in the Persian Gulf, and to what the Supreme Soviet presidium directed the International Affairs Committee to do in connection with that situation.

That is why I would now, on behalf of the government, like to give the floor to Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksandr Aleskandrovich Bessmertnykh, who will inform us about everything that is taking place, and then exchange views.

[Bessmertnykh] Esteemed deputies, early this morning a war started in the Persian Gulf zone. Our president is just now making his statement in this connection.

[Lukyanov] We will immediately hand over to you, comrades, the text of the statement. This will be in a few minutes' time.

[Bessmertnykh] The main thing that the president will say is that up to the very last moment, the Soviet Union was undertaking vigorous efforts with a view to preventing the war and to returning to Kuwait by political means its independence [nezavisimost] and its territorial integrity [samostoyatelnost].

The Soviet Government expresses profound regret that it has not been possible to avoid a military clash, even though the Soviet Union has done everything conceivable to settle the conflict by non-military means.

How have events developed? Early this morning, at approximately 0200, Secretary of State Baker called me. Referring to the President's instructions, he asked me to inform the Soviet president that the use of military force against Iraq would start very shortly. I asked him what 'very shortly' meant. Is it a matter of minutes or hours? He answered that this would take place within the hour.

President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was immediately informed of this announcement, and there and then he gave me the order to get in touch with U.S. President Bush and tell him to try to stop this military action and to allow some more time in order for it to be possible again to undertake perhaps the last, decisive attempt to bring pressure to bear on Iraqi president Saddam Hussayn, and to suggest to him that he withdraw his troops from Kuwait, otherwise, to warn him that otherwise a blow would be inflicted on Iraq, inasmuch as we have information from absolutely reliable sources on this.

There and then I called Secretary of State Baker and conveyed this message from Mikhail Sergeyevich.

He said that he was immediately trying to get in contact with the U.S. President. But at the same time he also expressed doubt on whether it would be possible to stop such a large-scale operation, since it had already entered the active phase. During my conversation with the secretary of state, he broke off for a minute, and then said reports were now beginning to come in that operations had evidently already started. A little later we received information from the secretary of state, soon after, that the President of the United States had been informed of the message from the Soviet president, but that military operations had begun and were continuing.

In this connection, as we were making contact with the U.S. leadership, Mikhail Sergeyevich instructed us to get in touch with the leadership of the leading world powers, respectively, and above all, before addressing ourselves to them, simultaneously to try to contact Saddam Husayn. We tried to do this. For technical reasons, we did not succeed in getting directly to Saddam Husayn, the telephone link was not working. We did get through to our embassy, in code, and our embassy soon received our telegrams and instructions, and got in communication with Saddam. I think our instructions have already been carried out.

What did Mikhail Sergeyevich's message to Saddam Husayn say? When we learned of the military operations against Iraq, our president informed him, we communicated urgently with the U.S. leadership and asked them to give you more time to announce the beginning of the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and thereby avoid casualties and destruction in Iraq. Unfortunately, we did not succeed in stopping the military operations. We consider it absolutely necessary that you, most urgently and decisively, declare your willingness to withdraw your forces from Kuwait. We are convinced that this would make it possible to halt the escalation of military operations and save Iraq and its population from unjustified losses and other very grave consequences. We will take all necessary measures to ensure this, our president said.

We hope, it was stressed to Saddam Husayn, that guided by the highest interests of your people and other peoples, you will take this step—the only one that can save the situation.

Right after this address to Saddam Husayn, the president sent a message to Mitterrand, Major, Li Peng, Kohl, and Shikharu, the Indian premier and conveyed to them the following personal message:

Having learned of the imminent military actions by the United States in the Persian Gulf zone about an hour beforehand, we urgently got in touch with the American leadership and asked them to postpone this action for 24-48 hours to enable us to make a last- ditch effort to persuade Saddam via direct contact that it is absolutely essential for him to start the withdrawal of his troops from Kuwait. We expressed regret that the military action had already begun. We informed the leadership of these countries that we had been in touch with Saddam and about what we had told him—what you have just heard.

At the same time it was stressed that our concern to prevent the escalation of the conflict in the Persian Gulf zone, which is still fraught with unpredictable consequences, requires that you, for your part—that is, all the leaders who were addressed by our president—undertake immediate measures to influence the Iraqi leadership. Of course, all of us must be interested in urgently localizing the conflict and preventing it from dangerous escalation.

Our president expressed his readiness to maintain permanent contacts with the leadership of these countries, with the aim of jointly seeking ways to halt the escalation of military action in Iraq and outside it.

At the same time we informed UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar about the moves we undertook. Right after that, Gorbachev's message was prepared to the leaders of the major Arab states. In it we briefed them about what we had already reported to the leaders of the major Asian and European powers. We also asked them to undertake every necessary measure, and expressed our readiness to cooperate with them in seeking parallel or joint ways to resolve the situation that had arisen, so as to urgently localize the conflict, to prevent its escalation, and to reinstate peace in that region.

As for the military operations themselves, the main strikes were delivered at 0300. In other words, as you see, we had about an hour before the beginning—between the notification by the Americans and the very beginning of military operations. We made full use of that hour for all the measures which I have just explained to you. I say nothing of the fact that appropriate supplementary measures were also taken. We conveyed to all Soviet embassies in all countries that they should take appropriate security measures. We also sent messages to our representative international organizations and told them what to expect. At 0300 the strikes began. About 1,000 planes of the air forces of the United States, Britain, and also of the Arab countries, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait inflicted heavy bombing and missile strikes on a large number of targets on Iraqi and Kuwaiti territory. Taking part in the raids on the American side were B-52 strategic bombers, and planes of the tactical and carrier-based air forces. The planes used included the invisible Stealth aircraft. From warships—battleships, to be precise—in the zone, the Persian Gulf, strikes were inflicted using Tomahawk cruise missiles.

The first phase of the bombing lasted until 0500, and was targeted against military installations and certain other installations of vital importance on Iraqi territory, including missile bases, the general headquarters of the Iraqi Air Force, corps headquarters, air bases, the Salman Pak nuclear center on the southern outskirts of

Baghdad, chemical weapons plants and dumps, petrochemical enterprises, air defense facilities, command points and deployment sites of the western and southern groups of Iraqi forces.

The Iraqi air defense forces failed to put up any resistance. The presidential palace was completely destroyed. Two airports within the city limits of Baghdad were put out of action. Damage was caused to a number of industrial enterprises, including a power station supplying electricity for Baghdad. The radio and television premises were damaged. In all, at least 75 targets on Iraqi territory were hit. No strikes were carried out on residential districts, on districts of towns or population centers. Our own intelligence information confirms this. Overall, these were fairly accurate strikes against targets.

According to available information, and it has to be said that it was very contradictory, the Iraqi Armed Forces launched five surface- to-surface missiles against targets in the territory of Saudi Arabia—against an airfield, to be precise. Groups of Iraqi troops are undertaking local counterattacks in the south.

Just prior to leaving for the meeting at the presidium, I was told that the second wave of bombing had begun at 1000.

Here is what I would like to note from world reaction to the events in the Persian Gulf area. An urgent meeting of the Security Council has taken place, at which the United States representative reported Washington's decision to begin military action against Iraq. The representatives of Britain and France spoke in support of the action. The Yemeni representative limited himself to expressing regret. The representative of Cuba condemned the action. De Cuellar expressed deep regret in connection with the outbreak of military operations in the Persian Gulf area. As far as official statements by the leaders of Western countries are concerned, none have been made so far. Among the Arabs, the only ones so far to express their attitude on the use of military force against Iraq have been the Kuwaitis, who declared their support for the U.S. actions. I am not including here the states that have participated directly in the military operations. Egypt, which is a member of the anti-Iraq coalition and has sent troops to Saudi Arabia, nevertheless, did not agree to a U.S. request to station B-52 bombers in its airfields.

At 0500 Moscow time, the American President spoke to the nation. In his speech, he declared that the attacks by the U.S. Armed Forces were first and foremost directed against military targets and that all targets had been reached and hit. The sole purpose of the operation was to force Iraq to leave Kuwait. Many people are asking us, said the President, why we decided not to wait but to deliver a strike in these circumstances. The answer was simple: The world could wait no longer; sanctions have proved ineffective, and there were fears that Husayn had nuclear weapons as well as chemical weapons. Furthermore, all our peace initiatives had received no positive reaction.

Only Husayn and his regime are to blame for the fact that the conflict has led to the present outcome. The U.S. President says that the aims set must be implemented as soon as possible, the entire struggle will not continue for long, losses will be minimal, and he asks God to bless the U.S. Armed Forces.

In the United States itself the reaction is on the whole unanimously positive; I would say almost euphoric. The Americans are gratified that the operation have gone off without any losses. Not a single plane was downed. So far not a single American serviceman has even been injured. That is why almost 100 percent... [changes thought] a public opinion poll was quickly held. Almost 100 percent of the population supports the president's line and even U.S. Congressmen, who as recently as yesterday and the day before yesterday expressed a variety of attitudes toward the Administration's intention to launch military action against Iraq, have now rallied, as, for that matter, traditionally happens in the United States, despite party differences, in war situations, they all rally around the national flag. To deviate from this is regarded as national betrayal. That is why all groupings which, prior to this, were even opposed to the President in this instance, when all this has happened, have rallied around him.

However, at the same time, cautious and attentive commentators are in my view right in saying that the war is not yet over, that it is passing through an active phase, that Husayn has possibly survived the first strike and can give an unpleasant surprise to the Americans or to someone else.

As regards those who belong to the category of "someone else": Of course, this refers to Israel, inasmuch as Tariq 'Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister, after his conversation with Baker in Geneva, stated outright that Iraq would absolutely without fail launch a missile strike against Israel. The U.S. Air Force, as is now becoming clear, inflicted its first strike precisely against the missile launchers which were targeted against Israel, and destroyed them all.

From the U.S. Embassy in Moscow we have just received—and about this I have not yet had time to report even to the government, but I am reporting it to the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet—a document which says that the United States expresses readiness to put an end to military operations as soon as possible provided that the relevant Security Council resolutions are fully implemented. It states that Iraq can avert further bloodshed if it agrees to an unconditional, immediate, and complete pullout of its troops from Kuwait. It also sets forth the U.S. pledge to consult with the Soviet Government on issues of the Persian Gulf crisis in the future.

Such, comrades, are the data I have compiled on the conflict itself, on the political work of the Soviet leadership and the government in relation to this, and on the situation that is taking shape from the point of view of its perception by world and national public opinion. Now we in the government are seriously preoccupied with working out further political steps to attain the goal of preventing an escalation of the conflict as soon as possible, localizing it, and restoring peace in the region. Our activity will go on, and the USSR Supreme Soviet will continuously be kept informed of all the measures to be taken by the government, as we are doing now.

[Announcer] Then discussion followed. A question was asked among others: What measures are being taken to protect our country's southern borders?

[Bessmertnykh] First of all, in our country's southern regions, before the action itself, all necessary technical measures were taken, including those for ensuring combat readiness and vigilance of our air defense resources. Military reconnaissance and technical facilities are operating. Our military general staff is, on the whole, knowledgeable about what is going on, and have informed the government on certain specific elements in the development of the situation before we were able to obtain these data from any other sources. In addition, measures have also been taken to ensure the safety of the relevant foreign missions and establishments as well as measures to ensure the safety of our posts abroad.

In addition, I would like to inform you, comrades, that when hostilities started, 112 Soviet citizens remained in Baghdad. This includes embassy staff, specialists, and also individuals who remained there on a voluntary basis after the main contingents of people working there had been evacuated.

Our telephone line to the embassy was out of action throughout the night. But as dawn was breaking, the line was restored. I spoke to the ambassador. He reported that the embassy was outside the area where the action was taking place. In fact, there was no destruction at all in the city, in Baghdad itself. All the Soviet citizens, without exception, are alive and well. Nobody has suffered, so to speak.

[Lukyanov] I wish to add that this morning I talked about this both with our president and the prime minister. The instruction issued by us at the session—we issued it at the session and it is set out in one of the session's decisions. We just... [changes thought] you know about this. The government has understood it correctly. I was told that all measures for reliable protection of our southern borders and all other necessary measures were taken. And additional measures are being taken in this direction.

[Unidentified speaker] Yesterday at the session a very symptomatic statement was made in passing about the opinions held by some Muslims who live in the USSR. A statement was made to this effect. Although it was not spelled out in so many words, the statement did carry some blunt words to this effect [as heard]. I would like to hear your comment on this subject.

[Lukyanov, to Aleksandr Dzasokhov] The floor is yours.

[Dzasokhov] As to the Muslim factor, I would like to say that as far as I understand, there are no religious concerns whatever in the consideration of any government involved, since those taking part in the military action are the Sunnis of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and as we can now see, Shi'ite Turkey also said it was ready to take part in these actions. I think that we must treat with understanding the concern of the Muslims in our country who may discern in this something which contradicts or impinges upon their interests. I think that there are no grounds for that. What is at issue here is not a struggle against the Muslim part of the world community. What is involved here is precisely the preservation of Muslim customs, traditions, and Muslim truths which in fact do not permit the kind of behavior demonstrated by Saddam Husayn, who has effectively sacrificed his population and his country to some sort of irrational view of the situation—a view that I still cannot understand.

So I think that here we must be entirely frank in this matter, and of course undertake all steps to ensure that the factor of Muslim concern will not be given any grounds to exist in reality.

[Announcer] Many deputies raised the question of the coverage of events in the Persian Gulf in the mass media.

[Unidentified deputy] [words indistinct]

[Lukyanov] Our mass media, often picking up foreign sources, began transmitting information from these voices which was by no means objective in all cases. In other words, the appeals we made yesterday at the Supreme Soviet session for objectivity, substantiation, and factual accuracy are, unfortunately, not being heeded to any great extent at the moment. This applies particularly to a number of radio programs.

[Announcer]: The issue of possible ecological consequences of the war in the Persian Gulf was also touched upon.

[Bessmertnykh] The Soviet Government has expressed its concern in connection with the possible ecological—to put it mildly—effect of what is taking place on the region. Unfortunately, to date we have not received any—at least it is possible that I do not know some details—but we have not received specific requests for assistance for decontamination equipment and facilities etc. Even though I know that some time ago—perhaps a month ago—some countries purchased from us gas masks and also some chemical warfare defense equipment and decontamination equipment and so forth. So that in this case we are showing complete readiness to help. And if some catastrophic situation arises, I think, the Soviet Union will undertake all necessary steps in order to save people.

[Unidentified speaker] You are an experienced expert on international affairs. How do you advise, what simply is your advice? Has the moment not come when we need to take a more serious attitude to so-called military secrets? Otherwise in our country everyone already knows where all the installations everywhere are.

[Bessmertnykh] I think that the fact that certain installations in Iraq were hit is not a reflection of the weakness of combat equipment, since ultimately equipment is only good when it is in good hands. When the events were under way, there were no Soviet specialists in the air defense network, of course. I think that our general staff will closely study the reasons why the air defense systems were neutralized, although it is clear even now that very powerful electronic jamming systems were employed, and this was even detected by our southern radar stations. So the Americans spent a long time studying the whole picture. Iraq is a small, open country. If any of you have ever flown over it, you will know that you can see everything as if on a map—The Tigris, the Euphrates, palm groves. And of course all the systems and installations can be seen, just as on the palm of your hand. After studying all this in the course of recent weeks and months, it was not of course all that difficult to foresee things and to work our tactical options for performing this combat mission. So, I think it is of course worth studying all of this.

I can tell you honestly that I do not rule out—and, if I am to express a personal view, I am frankly convinced—that aside from carrying out tasks connected with causing damage to military installations in Iraq, the U.S. military command is also rehearsing certain tactical and strategic models, and also testing certain tactical solutions, and also perhaps equipment. That is natural, and I think that the lessons of all this are not just being learned by that side.

As regards making sites secret, well, I think that, thank God, not everything is known to everybody, and what has to be closed from the point of view of national security is sufficiently closed, as is the case in all countries.

[Unidentified speaker] We have to express our attitude to such a method for solving issues. After all, people have alas suffered, scores or maybe millions will suffer in connection with the ecological aftermath of such an effect. [words indistinct] what is our...we have to show our attitude, moral attitude to the actions to solving such problems.

[Bessmertnykh] I think that this issue of precedent is very correct since one of the reasons why the international community has united on this very complex and unpleasant issue is related to the fact that after the end of the Cold War which is drawing to a close, it was very important to avoid a precedent by which a big country swallows up another one while bearing no responsibility to the world community, whether legal, ethical or moral. The task as we saw it in light of our policy was to use all possible measures to make the country that has carried out the aggression resolve the issue by peaceful means under the pressure of economic and political sanctions and the threat of military sanctions.

The thing is that we have encountered one of the amazing events in history, when the decisions of a country's leader simply cannot be rationally understood. Everything pointed to the fact that all the measures that had been taken had to work. Everything was so obvious when the world community united in opposition to the aggression, that the aggressor simply had to get out. Definite conditions were even created for him to do so. Many countries said that the anxieties of Iraq, including its relations with Kuwait, including the question of resolving the Palestinian problem, all this would be taken into account during the next steps. But Iraq did not agree to this.

I hope that in creating a precedent of punishing an aggressor, we do not create a precedent for using military force. What is the special point in this case? For the first time in the history of the 20th century—and I think previous centuries—the world community has unanimously adopted a decision that if the aggressor does not leave, then military force will have to be used. This is not a case of someone using military force simply because he wants to. In this case military force has been used in accordance with a common decision. Nevertheless, we deeply regret that it has been used because the danger is increasing for the region. It is difficult to forecast the consequences today and we are afraid that the consequences really could overwhelm the region.

That is why our president and our government have appealed, as I already said at the beginning of my speech, to everybody to adopt additional measures, without delay, in order to limit, to localize the conflict, and return to a peaceful solution of the problem and, after liberating Kuwait, to get down to solving the issues that are on the agenda for that region.

[Lukyanov] Comrade Kotlyakov, your question, please.

[Announcer] The question of humanitarian aid which the Soviet state might give to Iraqi children who have suffered was raised in various forms.

[Bessmertnykh] Comrades, I wholly agree with the statement made by the people's deputy that Saddam is not the Iraqi people. In fact, we have very lengthy traditions of friendship and cooperation with the Iraqi people. They are a wonderful, highly interesting people whose roots go back to the Sumerian and Babylonian dynasties and epochs, and also to the Assyrian civilization.

This is one of the most ancient nations, which we have always held in the most high esteem. Our esteem for the Iraqi people continues and we hope that no harm will be done to this people. If the problem arises, the problem of rendering humanitarian aid to people, to the ordinary citizens of Iraq, to children as the comrade deputies mentioned—and such a problem could indeed arise—I think we, together with the Supreme Soviet and the government, all of us together will be able to adopt necessary, adequate measures to render assistance to the Iraqi people. I think this is a question which we will now study closely, since this is, indeed, a possible consequence of what is taking place there.

[Unidentified speaker] What was undertaken; when was the last warning to Saddam Husayn issued?

[Bessmertnykh] It seems I will not be able to list all the appeals to Saddam Husayn now; and there were so many of them, there were messages at our president's level, there were messages at the ministerial level. They were made at the level of special representatives who were sent to Baghdad—you know about the latest missions to the capital of Iraq. And we always stressed one thing—that the information which we were conveying to them on the U.S. intention to deal a military strike was based on serious and reliable sources. We were not bluffing in order only to force the Iraqi president to agree to withdraw his troops, and we believed that, being a sufficiently serious person, he had to take this as a serious warning. It is difficult to say why he did not take this in. I think this is a question we will deal with later and, perhaps, we will later learn something about this. But we said everything very convincingly and gave clear-cut information based on facts, on the U.S. intention to make this strike.

[Lukyanov] Let us exchange views on this issue. I would first give the floor to Comrade Dzasokhov from the Committee for International Affairs, chairman of the committee.

[Dzasokhov] I will focus your attention only on certain issues. First, can we forecast or try to forecast, which is very important, how long this war can last? There is no unequivocal answer today. However, the circumstance that only land- and carrier-based aircraft, that is, air forces, are taking part in the military measures shows that, apparently, staff measures were spelled out, counting on a very short period of military action. This is also borne out by the speech made at 0500 Moscow time by the U.S. President, in which he said, among other things, that the war would not be protracted and the losses would be minimal. We can take it that he was referring mainly to the Americans and their allies when he spoke about small losses. On the other hand, he said—and this is very important—that the present military operations being carried out by the United States would not be comparable to what happened in Vietnam. So, they are hoping that the war will be short.

However, the involvement of ground forces in the theater of war operations is not being ruled out either. But a lot will depend on whether Baghdad will respond to the stream of requests already made today for it to express willingness to withdraw its armed forces from the territory of Kuwait. Unless such an announcement is made, several U.S. divisions stationed just across the border from Kuwait will, of course, go into battle. Then the war could become protracted.

The second thing I would like to mention is the following, and we must now update our ideas on this, because our chairman is right when he says that this will lead to a large number of questions. We have now seen for ourselves yet again that the Americans and thier allies possess powerful electronic jamming equipment. Let us recall several Near East wars in which this was also one of the main factors in play. For this reason virtually no Iraqi planes got off the ground. The ones that did used up all their fuel, as military specialists are now reporting. And that was when the second wave of attacking aircraft moved in. Altogether, five such waves of attacking aircraft have already been launched.

We are, nevertheless, interested in ways of bringing closer a cessation of hostilities. This morning I myself had a meeting with Daniel Ortega, who is known to you as a politician and statesman. Yesterday he flew in from Bonn at the end of his visit to Baghdad, where he met Saddam. He is right—and his proposal coincides with the view of many people—in saying that attention should now be focused on ways of achieving a cease-fire. This would, of course, provide an opportunity to create conditions for the resumption of active political and diplomatic efforts.

I should also like to emphasize that it is quite true that we share a common position with the United States. This lies above all in the fact that we profess—especially in the recent period of our greater level of cooperation—international law; and this has been confirmed in the approaches that have been heard in the Security Council. But at the same time, let us, now that we are doing a deeper analysis, admit that the order of priorities—ours and that of the Americans—does not coincide in that region. I do not want to speak of this in detail, but to equate the components of our priorities, as it were, and of our positions in that region, would not be quite accurate. Now, about our national interests.

We don't have any information at this time prompting us to project military measures taking place in our direction. But I would like to add my voice to the concern that was voiced today and yesterday because the perimeter of the military operations is only about 500 km away from us, from our southern borders. This also of course encourages us even more to work in the direction of a cease-fire. What is more, there are attempts now—and this is taking place at a serious and even official level—to link events in the Persian Gulf and certain difficult problems in our own country.

I think that at today's presidium we must resolutely reject arguments of this kind, because there can be no similarity from any point of view here, since in our case the international community has to do with purely domestic matters concerning our federative state, while we are not just observing, but also striving to assist the settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf through political methods.

There was great interest here in what was undertaken prior to the unleashing of military measures. I should say that the intensity of our diplomatic demarches was exceptionally high. Baghdad alone was visited five times by representatives of the Soviet leadership, the president, just as there were visits here by representatives of Iraq. At the same time we should probably, on the basis of analysis of the events that are taking place, again and again draw conclusions for ourselves as legislators, that we require a great deal of information at every stage of the alarming development of the state of affairs. The promptness with which the presidium responded today to the development of military operations is, to my mind, an example worthy of inclusion in our range of instruments.

[Unidentified speaker] It is our duty to express our sympathy with the Iraqi and Kuwaiti people who have found themselves in this situation, at the same time condemning the fact of aggression itself. Perhaps we can find some wording. The second thing, which I would like to say professionally, is that we should perhaps make note of the following item: To instruct the USSR Government to work out possible forms of USSR participation in the provision of humanitarian and ecological assistnace to the peoples of Kuwait and Iraq. Thank you.

[Kugultinov] In any event, whether it concerns the interests of the United States or not, in any event the nations should unite so that justice is achieved without bloodshed. I believe, I am convinced that it would have been possible to achieve a solution of this issue through peaceful means, through economic pressure. But seeing as this has now happened, we think that further on there should be no more repetition of such a thing.

[Lukyanov] First of all, it is right that we have widely and critically examined this question. Indeed, this is a most urgent question, a very sore and difficult question, but we had to discuss it like this. I have not noticed emotions being carried much too far in the expression of the various points of view here. But I would of course like us to view objectively the processes that are taking place and assess our foreign policy correctly and in a balanced way. For legislators, no other way is possible. I think that war indeed is a disaster for which millions of ordinary people pay, and this should be reflected in our resolution.

The operation is called 'Desert Storm'. It may turn out that the storm will engulf a far greater area than at present. The storm may engulf other countries, other regions, and so we must, quite rightly, be aware of this and indicate this in our resolution. We cannot, therefore, fail to express concern and sympathy to both the Iraqi and the Kuwaiti people, which is paying for the shortsighted policy of the Iraqi leadership.

It seems to me that it must be particularly stressed that the Soviet Union has done the utmost within its power to prevent a military conflict and to resolve the crisis primarily by political, by peaceful means. It seems to me, comrades, that our whole policy, the UN resolutions, the methods of applying pressure to precisely such conflicts must be adequate and, of course, above all, peaceful means—to deal with these things by political means. That is what the international precedent that is being established following the end of the cold war must be like. Here, I think, people have spoken correctly about this, and this is a most important position.

It has been said here that the Soviet leadership appealed to the permanent members, the heads of the states that are permanent members of the Security Council, to India, Italy and Germany, and to the heads of most Arab countries to prevent the growth of a dangerous military conflict. The same thing is also said in the statement made by the USSR president. It seems to me that, in our decision, it would be necessary to reflect the need to demand and propose a cease-fire and the impermissibility of the extension of the conflict to a larger area. There is a great deal that we do not yet know and cannot assess because we have received only the first reports on the military conflict, and it seems to me that we will consider the matter once again in such a composition here, in the presidium, and, if necessary, if it is exceedingly controversial, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet too, as we agreed.

Rather acute issues were brought up by everyone who spoke here, and they could be—after discussion and taking into account the results of the discussion—handed over to both the government and to our military department.

I would like to propose the following: We should also put in our decision that the presidium of the Supreme Soviet appeals to all sides, not only on behalf of the people's deputies, but also on behalf of all the legislative committees and commissions and on behalf of all the legislative factions and groups present here.

And we should finish the decision with this, having noted that we are striving for the restoration of peace in this suffering region.

As for the second paragraph—on the statement made by the president—I think that it should plainly be written down here—to support the statement of the USSR president in relation to the war that has started in the zone of the Persian Gulf. Not just the conclusions but the whole of the statement as a whole.

[Unidentified speaker] [words indistinct]

[Lukyanov] Yes, no. But we could also take into account the statement made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Now, comrades, I have the following proposal in relation to the decision. Taking into account our exchange of opinions, finally adopt it now as a basis and instruct

Comrades Laptev, Dzasokhov, Sharin, Kugultinov, and Blokhin—if anybody would like to add anyone else, you are welcome—[voices: Enough, that is sufficient, enough]—with the participation of Aleksandr Alexandrovich Bessmertnykh, to work out the final wording of the decision and try to have it published in the mass media today.

Interior Minister Pugo, Deputies Cited on Baltics

PM1701133591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[Report by legislative correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev: "M. Gorbachev: ...Or Else Democracy Will Suffer Defeat"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The day before yesterday, 15 January, was a strenous working day for the country's legislature.

The discussion of the candidate ministers for posts in two key departments—internal and foreign affairs—was an indication of this.

Answering deputies' questions, V. Pugo and A. Bessmertnykh made public the problems by which they will be guided in their activity.

We shall highlight from the many hours of dialogue what primarily perturbs and interests everyone.

[Deputy Yu. Boyars] "At the 19th party conference you were one of the first republican leaders to raise the question of the need to grant the republics real sovereignty. At the time this made us respect you greatly. But in your speech yesterday there were a number of very controversial points. I should like to hear some details. What kind of healthy, progressive forces and what kind of reactionary forces were you talking about? Can it be considered that the Lithuanian legislature stands on reactionary positions? You said: The troops opened fire for effect. I want to know what legal norm you were guided by here? After all the statutes of garrison and guard service do not give grounds for using troops against the civilian population. Another thing: How many military men and civilians suffered and how many of the civilians killed were armed?"

[Pugo] "I thank you for mentioning my speech at the 19th party conference. Today, too, I stand on the same positions on which I stood then.... During the years which preceded perestroyka very serious errors were committed in nationalities policy.... It is not possible to resolve them in a short time. That is why the desire of certain forces to minimize this time has naturally led to a certain outburst, led to the point where representatives of the nonindigenous nationality began, to our great misfortune, to feel that they were 'second class' people on the republic's territory.... I believe that the republican legislature was too hasty in adopting decisions restricting their rights. Therefore the conflicts which we are encountering today are the result of hasty actions."

[Deputy A. Eyzan] "I ask if the minister does actually know the names of those who head the Baltic republics' national salvation committees. Do you know them?"

[Pugo] "I do know them but I consider this question to be incorrect."

[Ezyan] "Why?"

[Pugo] "Because that should not be done. Those comrades made an appropriate request on the basis of the fact that there is a danger to their lives. I shall not name them now."

[Ezyan] "You did not answer Deputy Boyars' question: How many of the civilians killed in Lithuania were armed?"

USSR Prosecutor General N. Trubin offered to answer this question. He announced that a group of representatives of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and a group of investigators from the military prosecutor's office are in Lithuania but their activity is being blocked by the local authorities. He said that they are not being allowed to carry out any investigation and are not being given any information.

The Lithuanian Republic Prosecutor's Office, which is subordinate to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, has instituted criminal proceedings in connection with an attempted coup d'etat. Military investigators have instituted proceedings in connection with the crime known as exceeding authority with the use of weapons. The Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] prosecutor's office, which is subordinated to the USSR Prosecutor's Office, has instituted criminal proceedings in connection with the mass disorders.

A. Bessmertnykh had to undergo no less serious a test in front of the deputies.

[Deputy D. Kugultinov] "Does it not seem to you that both Europe and the United States, having sensed our new thinking, are linking their financial aid too closely with what we should do? In particular since the Lithuanian events... Does it not seem to you that diplomats must now also think about the country's dignity?"

[Bessmertnykh] "I believe that the observance, retention, and consolidation of a power's dignity has always been the main question of our policy and always will be... The Soviet Union will never trade its dignity or honor or the interests of its people for dollars or another hard or 'soft' currency."

This statement by A. Bessmertnykh was assessed highly by the union parliamentarians—there was applause.

The Supreme Soviet approved B. Pugo and A. Bessmertnykh as ministers.

At the evening sitting, in whose work USSR President M. Gorbachev also took part, the deputies continued the discussion of several articles in need of further work from the Basic Principles of USSR and union republic legislation on the employment of the population [passage omitted]

A. Lukyanov gave the floor to Deputy J. Peters, the Latvian Government's permanent representative in Moscow.

On my own behalf and as the Latvian Government's Moscow representative, the speaker said, I want to assure you all once again that the Latvian Republic will implement its aims only by political methods, through parliamentarianism and sensible compromises in order to protect the life, rights, and dignity of every person and it expects the same reaction from the USSR's central authorities.

J. Peters told the deputies that he had received a telex with the text of the Latvian Supreme Soviet resolution on suspending the operation of the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet resolution "on the impermissibility of the criminal activity of the special militia detachment and the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the Latvian Republic." He read out the text of the resolution.

A. Lukyanov then announced that at the request of a group of worker deputies Deputy V. Leonchev was being given the floor.

V. Leonchev told those taking part in the sitting that at a meeting of worker deputies it had been decided to send an address to the country's labor collectives and working people. The text of the address is published in today's issue.

Deputy A. Dandzberg was the next to take the floor.

Again, for the umpteenth time, the speaker said, the blood of civilians has been shed. This time the victims were citizens of the Lithuanian Republic, who have voted for their independence and are trying to defend this independence with the conviction that they are right and with their love for their motherland—tiny Lithuania. The question arises: Who is next? In the speaker's opinion, if events develop in the same channel, the citizens of Latvia and Estonia will be next.

The floor was given to Deputy A. Shamikhin.

He agreed with the words uttered the day before by the USSR president to the effect that it is hard to find a compromise with the politicians who are leading the Baltic republics now. No one intends to fulfill the USSR laws and President's Decrees, he pointed out, and there is a constant offensive on human rights.

On 10 January, the deputy reported, a meeting was held in Riga at the initiative of the all-Latvian public salvation committee, the international front, and the republican council of labor collectives. The participants in the meeting demanded the repeal of the new prices, the resignation of the government, and the dissolution of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. A. Shamikhin informed the deputies of the preparation of a new meeting, whose participants, if the previous meeting's demands have not been met, intend to appeal to the all-Latvian public salvation committee suggesting that it assume all management functions in the republic. The speaker explained that the organization he had named was formed at the congress of committees for the defense of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and citizens' rights. The all-Latvian public salvation committee is headed by USSR People's Deputy A. Rubiks, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. In addition A. Shamikhin expressed indignation at the actions of B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

Deputy A. Boyko's speech voiced support for the assessment of the activity of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman in connection with the events in Lithuania made by the previous speaker. In A. Boyko's opinion, B. Yeltsin does not have the right to speak on behalf of the Russian people. His appeal to the United Nations means ignoring the Congress of People's Deputies, the country's Supreme Soviet, and the USSR president.

Deputy A. Krayko voiced the proposal that the actions by the military in Vilnius were provoked. Their results, the deputy believed, played into the hands of the republic's present leadership, whose prestige has declined sharply recently. He also announced that the idea of the modern version of the public salvation committees as a replacement for inconvenient organs of power was born in Moscow among those who support the Lithuanian leadership today. A. Krayko said that he could name these people. But the names were not given.

Deputy T. Pulkevich stated that he is convinced that the whole trouble is that there has not been democracy in the Baltic republics. The Baltic republics' people's deputies, he believes, have betrayed voters' expectations. He also demanded that measures be taken to disarm all armed formations in the Baltic republics.

USSR Internal Affairs Minister B. Pugo, who spoke at the sitting, announced that he has information that in the past few days in Lithuania about 1,000 people have received submachine guns and sworn their loyalty to the republic's government. He asked the USSR Supreme Soviet to help him obtain from the Lithuanian government an explanation of this fact or to give the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry the opportunity to check information independently.

The sitting had already exceeded the allotted time by nearly an hour when the floor was given to USSR President M. Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

Marshal Akhromeyev Views Lithuanian Events

LD1601190991

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian, in its "Vremya" newscast at 1530 GMT on 16 January, carries a five-minute report on correspondent Leonid Khatayevich interviewing a number of Supreme Soviet deputies, including some from Leningrad.

Questioned about his views on the political situation developing in the country, Denisov says: "These days everyone is talking about the Baltic, and it is probably necessary to talk about it because, first of all, blood has already been shed in Lithuania, and the same could happen in Latvia and Estonia. And we should not allow this to happen in any situation. Therefore, let us see what is happening there. It is quite evident that lawlessness has come to the fore there. It is obvious that the use of the Army was against the law. The creation of a national front, a National Salvation Committee—I mean, not its creation, which is legal, but its pretensions to take over power—is also illegal. But the creation of local militarized formations, which has now spread across the whole country, is equally illegal. What shall we come to if we carry on this way? Lastly, the conduct of the legislative organs of these republics which are acting against the constitution is not legal."

Asked what possible way he sees out of the complex Lithuanian situation, Denisov replies: "In regard to Latvia, a statement was voiced yesterday which means that at last commonsense is beginning to take over. The Latvian Government has taken a step toward concord. In other words, it has abolished some of its discriminatory legal acts. I think that all those intermovements and others who oppose this should step forward too. In particular, they should not insist on their strikes and everything else."

Khatayevich then asks Denisov and several other deputies—Shevlyuga, Kiselyova, and Lezhenko—their views regarding suggested political strikes. All of them condemn this suggestion as counterproductive and harmful.

Khatayevich then interviews Marshal Akhromeyev, asking: "Comrade Marshal, there is a lot of talk now about whether the decision of the Vilnius garrison commander to use military force in that situation was lawful or not. But in any case I think that there were reasons which prompted this action?"

Akhromeyev replies: "There was a split among the people in Lithuania. Moreover, it was not simply a split of differences of opinion on some issue, but actually developed to confrontation among the people. One portion of them has a supreme legislative and executive body in the form of the supreme soviet and the government, while the other has created its own legislative and executive organ in the form of the national salvation committee. And matters developed to confrontation among them, to physical fighting. And the Army has found itself in this situation. This means it had to ensure that nothing horrible would happen, but unfortunately it did happen. Exactly how this happened we shall learn today. The Supreme Soviet commission that was in Lithuania will report to us on how this happened. Only then can we talk about the actual causes of what happened."

Political & Social

Kryuchkov Discusses Salvation Committee

LD1801002191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Question and answer session with Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security, KGB, at a public meeting at the Moscow City CPSU Committee's Sociopolitical Center in Moscow on 17 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, at the Sociopolitical Center of the Moscow City Party Committee, a public meeting with KGB Chairman Nikolay [as heard] Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov took place. Approximately 2,000 people were in the hall, including representatives of various sociopolitical movements, including those of a rightist orientation. We offer you Comrade Kryuchkov's answers to certain questions.

[Unidentifed speaker] At a news conference on the events in Lithuania, Yeltsin appealed to the United Nations to set up an international commission on the Baltic republics, and the Baltic leaders are openly demanding the introduction of UN troops in the Baltic. Does Yeltsin not comprehend what the introduction of foreign troops in the sovereign USSR means, or is there something else here?

[Kryuchkov] You know, today the Senate was convened in the United States of America. I don't have detailed information, but I have received reports from there. It also considers that we have intervened illegally in the Baltic republics, that our troops are there illegally, that they must be withdrawn and that if this doesen't happen, then the United States will withdraw them, or will resort to sanctions. They consider that we are grossly infringing on human rights there and so forth, so there is a sort of interchange here.

[Unidentified speaker] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, I realize that you head a committee, whose basic task is state security. In Lithuania self-styled persons have croached state authority. Moreover, these comrades summoned troops, and the troops carried out measures against the civilian inhabitants. [shouts of disagreement from the hall]

[Kryuchkov] Dear comrades, I will literally say three sentences. It seems to me that the person who asked the question has a false basic premise. We have a constitution in the USSR. [applause] There is a constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. So, let's have a look at what it all started with—with the infringement of human rights. I believe that when the rights of man, his dignity and honesty, have been degraded, it is a totally unhealthy situation.

I would very much like the person who asked the question to go there and meet the Russians, talk with them, and ask them such questions. [applause]

[Unidentified speaker] Has a National Salvation Committee been set up in Moscow? What do you know about this committee? What steps does the KGB intend to take if anticonstitutional, unauthorized bodies of authority are set up?

[Kryuchkov] This committee has been set up in such a way that even the KGB doesn't know about it. I haven't heard about it, but I want to say the following. If, let's say, this idea starts to be embodied, I assure you that the KGB will take an interest and will determine where the boundary between what is allowed and what is not allowed has been crossed. I have not heard anything about such an organization yet.

[Ugolov] My surname is Ugolov, Pamyat society. Therefore I will ask you one question. What will happen to these perestroyka men who started perestroyka.

[Unidentified speaker] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, please.

[Kryuchkov] I would not want to offend all those who are in the Pamyat Society. You see, there are various people there. I think that there are healthy tendencies. There are those who would like to pay tribute to our historic achievements and past, but there are also, as always, individuals who are cashing in on these processes and behaving in an unseemly manner. I think that if we want all this to fortify us, we must proceed from this premise.

According to the perestroyka men we have not done everything rationally in recent years. We have made mistakes. Moreover, certain villains have taken advantage of this renewal process, which is necessary for our state.

I think that placing blame in everything and looking for someone to punish is probably not the main point. The main point is that this process is constructive and active, and for this, one must proceed from [word indistinct] and amend the situation.

TU Presidium Appeal for End to Gulf War

LD1801111191 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 18 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—The Presidium of the Council of the USSR Confederation of Trade Unions called on trade unions throughout the world to strive resolutely for stopping hostilities in the Gulf area.

An emergency meeting of the presidium issued a statement urging all sides, involved in the conflict, to start searching again for political solutions, envisaging the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and of all foreign forces from the Gulf region.

Realising the gravity of the Gulf crisis and the serious consequences of hostilities there, the presidium has urged all the trade unions of the world to take a more active part in the efforts exerted by the world community under U.N. aeagis to achieve an all-embracing peaceful settlement of Middle East issues, including the Palestine problem.

Demonstration Supports 'Vzglyad,' Radio Rossii

LD1701132291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1203 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] A demonstration in support of the "Vzglyad" and "Television News Service" programs and also of Radio Rossii has just taken place in front of the building of the State Television and Radio in Ostankino where we are actually working. Reinforced militia detachments politely asked the demonstrators to disperse.

TASS Reportedly Fires Leningrad Reporters

LD1701132791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1203 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] As has become known, the Leningrad office of TASS has begun mass firings of correspondents. They have been accused of crudly distorting information they put out. According to some reports they are being replaced by the former employees of the Communist Party oblast committee.

Strike Call in Leningrad Fails

91P50076A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Jan 91 p 1

[TASS report from Leningrad: "Strike Failed"]

[Text] A strike call was not supported by workers from the city on the Neva.

A number of Leningrad City Soviet deputies called for a strike among city worker collectives the other day. The appeal found support among representatives of the "Democratic Russia" movement, who set up a strike committee headquartered under the tricolored banner of old Russia on Nevskiy Prospect. This was the command center for the political strike declared for 16 January.

The strike committee believed that the collectives at most enterprises and organizations would honor the call for a two-hour work stoppage. The workers, however, did not agree to leave their stations and a mass action did not take place.

Work remained normal at such large enterprises as "Electrosila," "Leningradskiy metallicheskiy zavod," "Krasnyy vyborzhets," and others. Aside from those, many collectives held meetings of protest against the activities of troops in the Baltics. Leningraders commemorated the victims of the clashes in Lithuania with a minute of silence.

Politburo Plans Next Central Committee Plenum

LD1701160991 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has held another meeting to exchange opinions on the situation in the party and the country and on party policies.

It adopted a statement on the tragic events in Lithuania, which has since been published in the press.

The Politburo also discussed preparations for another Central Committee plenum, slated for late January—early February.

The plenum is to be held jointly with the party's Central Control commission. It is to hear a progress report, consider the issue of registering the party rules, and discuss party norms-and-methods documents, the political enhancement of party organisations, and the budgets of the Communist Parties of constituent republics.

The Politburo examined draft party norms-and-methods documents, which will be put before the plenum after being finalised.

The Politburo also adopted a working plan for January-March and considered some other issues of party work.

INTERFAX Sees Political Motive for Expulsion

PM1701150791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Moscow Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "INTERFAX Agency Statement"]

[Text] On 11 January the leadership of the USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] headed by Chairman Leonid Kravchenko terminated INTERFAX's activities at the Gosteleradio premises. L. Kravchenko instructed that all INTERFAX property located at the Gosteleradio building be sequestrated.

Let us recall that INTERFAX was set up as an independent agency in September 1989. Its founders were the Main News Editorial Office of Moscow Radio (a subdivision of the Gosteleradio) and the Soviet-French-Italian "Interquadro" enterprise. In September 1990 INTERFAX separated to become an autonomous news agency and in accordance with the law was registered at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of the Press and Mass Information.

Since repairs are currently continuing at the new premises given to the agency on a long-term lease by Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, INTERFAX continues to occupy several small rooms in the USSR Gosteleradio building at 25, Pyatnitskaya Street.

INTERFAX is convinced that financial and property claims are not the reasons for the current conflict with the USSR Gosteleradio. The equipment in question belongs to INTERFAX and is the agency's legally registered property. We are prepared to contest this right in court.

INTERFAX regards this action by USSR Gosteleradio's new leadership as the logical development of the policy adopted by Leonid Kravchenko to eliminate independent news structures. The recent ban on the very popular Soviet television program "Vzglyad" [View] and the disappearance from screens of "Avtorskoye televideniye" [Author's Television] broadcasts are links in the same chain. The USSR Gosteleradio leadership makes no secret of the fact that INTERFAX's information does not correspond to its political concept.

Paper Views Gosteleradio-INTERFAX Dispute

PM1601101191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Second Edition p 6

[S. Oganyan article: "Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] Versus INTERFAX: To Be Continued"]

[Text] You will have recently read with bewilderment various accounts of the fate of the new news agency INTERFAX. The gist of them boils down to INTERFAX simply having ceased to exist. I must say straightaway that these rumors are, to put it mildly, exaggerated.

But it is well known that there is no smoke without fire. Rather than talking about the killing off of the agency, let us try to kill off the obfuscation around the INTERFAX situation. On 11 January the USSR Gosteleradio Collegium devoted around three hours to this question, seeking not to analyze the content of the agency's activity but, as L. Kravchenko stated, the purely legal aspect of relations between INTERFAX and Gosteleradio as one of the cofounders of the agency. (The other cofounder was the "Interkvadro" joint venture).

We say "was" advisedly. The point is that participants in the session learned just before it started that INTERFAX was no longer a "subsidiary" enterprise of Gosteleradio, since it had been registered as an autonomous news agency roughly three months earlier. This step was explained to the session by INTERFAX leader M. Komissar, who is also deputy chief editor of the USSR Gosteleradio's Main Editorial Office for Foreign News and Propaganda Broadcasting, as follows: In September nonstaff INTERFAX workers were laid off by Gosteleradio's Personnel Department and the question of the agency's very existence arose. On the other hand, difficulties appeared in the relationship with our other cofounder. As a result a rupture occurred, that, it is true, the Gosteleradio leadership did not suspect, if you exclude V. Sivyakov, chief editor of the Main Editorial Office for Foreign News and Propaganda Broadcasting, who knew both of INTERFAX' birth and of its escape from Gosteleradio patronage.

That, strictly speaking, is all there is in terms of whether INTERFAX has ceased to exist or not. It continues to operate. The best confirmation of that is the statement by the actual agency published the next day. INTERFAX, we read, continues to occupy several large rooms in the USSR Gosteleradio building at 25 Pyatnitskaya Street. This is pending the completion of repairs at the new premises allocated to it by the Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] on a long-term lease. As has just become known, the Russian parliament has also come to its aid, granting it work space in the House of the Soviets.

What about Gosteleradio? It has made arrangements for property belonging to INTERFAX to be distrained. Gosteleradio has operated on the basis that, under the terms of the agreement concluded 18 months ago, the agency should pay it half of its profit in rubles and its foreign currency earnings, which have not been transferred to Gosteleradio. Moreover, as one of the documents says, Gosteleradio has borne the expenditure for providing premises, their upkeep, wages for servicing personnel, and the use of communication lines and other services. At the same time Gosteleradio charges M. Komissar with having no right to combine two posts—leader of INTERFAX and deputy chief editor of the Main Editorial Office for Foreign News and Propaganda Broadcasting. Another accusation is that he should have registered INTERFAX with the State Telegraph Agency (TASS) rather than the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry for the Press and Mass Information.

In short, there are quite a few complaints. M. Komissar has been dismissed, and the divorce proceedings are continuing...

News Conference on Death Penalty

PM1801093591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 p 4

[Yu. Kozyreva article: "You Can't Be Soft in Meting Out Punishment"]

[Text] More than 2,000 persons have been sentenced to death in the USSR over the last five years...

A news conference was held yesterday at the USSR Justice Ministry, publicizing for the first time in the state's history, statistics regarding the use of capital punishment for criminal offenses. The USSR is one of 130 countries whose legislation makes provision for the death penalty. Today it can be applied as punishment for 14 criminal offenses, but by no means all of them "work." For example, no more than six percent of criminals have received the death penalty for attempts on the life of a militiaman or voluntary militia patrolman. Over the last five years, beginning in 1985, the number of persons sentenced to capital punishment in the USSR has dropped from 770 to 276 and, thus, "prisoners under sentence of death" totaled 0.04 percent of all convicts. USSR Justice Minister S.G. Lushchikov pointed out that judges have of late been trying with increasing frequency to take advantage of causes that allow them to avoid passing the death sentence. Four types of crime are expected to be subject to the death penalty under the new criminal legislation: treason, acts of terrorism, subversion, and first-degree murder. The last accounts for roughly 95 percent of all cases where the death sentence is passed today.

According to USSR Justice Ministry figures, over the last year the country's crime rate has increased 13.2 percent. More crimes have been registered, but the clear-up rate is still low. Less than half the people who have committed murder have today appeared before a judge, and specialists therefore believe that it is still too early to talk about completely abolishing the death penalty. Nevertheless, at the Eighth UN Congress the USSR, unlike the United States, voted in favor of the resolution abolishing the death penalty. The resolution has not as yet been passed...

Deputies Assail Kravchenko Over TV 'Pap'

PM1101133591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 91 Union Edition p 8

[Unattributed "Press Focus" report: "Circuses Instead Of Bread"]

[Text] On 9 January the Leningrad paper SMENA published an open letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals Committee signed by Russian and Leningrad City Soviet people's deputies and by writers.

"In his New Year address," the letter says, "Leonid Kravchenko, head of Central Television, announced to the entire Union that henceforth the people require entertainment and sports programs and television quiz shows, but no politics, because the people are tired of politics. This means that the Central Television leadership has devised and intends to implement a new action program that is, in our view, a program to deliberately make fools of the people.

"We deem it our duty to warn that Kravchenko's statement is based on a absolutely and deliberately false statement. People are not tired of politics in general, but of craven and hypocritical politics, as seen by Kravchenko's in realigning Central Television is an example. This can only be seen as an attempt to sedate people's excited minds and turn people into mindless cattle enjoying quizzes while blood is shed in the country, refugees beg for charity in subway passages, and store shelves remain shamelessly bare.

"In his desire to substitute circuses for bread, L. Kravchenko is no innovator by any means. His determination to entertain the 'population' at all costs has unfortunate historical associations...

"We regard the Central Television leadership's new policy as an insult to millions of viewers. We are already witnessing its results: The program 'Vzglyad' has been banned twice, there has been a drastic reduction in the number of current affairs programs, and hard-hitting political items have vanished from 'Vremya.'

"We ask the committee to take urgent steps to protect glasnost and the right of citizens to decide for themselves, without the overweening ideological tutelage of Leonid Kravchenko and those backing him, what programs to watch and what to think and feel while we are at it. And how to live. We also ask the committee for its opinion on whether this attempt by certain officials to introduce an information blockade in the country is legal.

"For our part, we will do our utmost to secure Leonid Kravchenko's resignation. We hope we will have the support of those who are averse to the diet of bland entertainment pap concocted by the masters of media coercion.

"Let these masters accept the responsibility when all confidence in declarations and appeals by the state, whose mouthpiece is Central Television, has been undermined for good."

The letter is signed by M. Molostvov, member of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, B. Kurkova, RSFSR and Leningrad City Soviet people's deputy, V. Monakhov, Leningrad City Soviet deputy, and writers Ya. Gordin, V. Kavtorin, N. Katerli, A. Kushner, S. Lurye, and B. Strugatskiy.

Writers' Group Urges Unity, Cooperation

PM1701153591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 p 3

["Statement" made by "National Accord" committee; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Don't Set the Peoples Against One Another"]

[Text] Last October a conference of writers and public figures from the USSR and Russian emigres was held in Rome. In accordance with the meeting's outcome the "National Accord" committee was set up, with the aim of overcoming the split among the intelligentsia and closing the gap between our country's peoples on the basis of national reconciliation rather than ideological reconciliation. Advocating civil peace in society, the committee has issued a statement concerning the situation that has taken shape in the Baltic:

The tragic events in Lithuania could mean if not the end, then a deadlock for perestroyka. The era of civilization and renewal proclaimed to the whole world could end with our opening fire on our own citizens. Certainly perestroyka has departed a long way from its original ideas. The republics do not accept the option of independence emanating from the center. The old economy has collapsed. Law and order is extremely lacking in the country. However, bloodshed will not bring back 1985, it will not create an economy, and it will not increase order in the country.

Violence occurs because of impotence. Society lacks information in this critical situation just as state leaders do, so we have been told. This has been the case on several occasions. If you remember, five years ago the almost total ignorance about our ailing country generated highly optimistic sentiments and confidence that all the problems would be able to be solved by political means within a short period. The result is weariness with multiple promises of securing prosperity within two or three years and progressive mistrust, on the one hand. On the other, the parade of sovereignties, the war of laws, and a heated desire not to reduce national wealth but to share out everything absolutely in their favor, ranging from supplies to political rights. The last five years have effectively reproduced everything that has been accumulated over the last 73 years. Ossified dogmas, unrestrained promises, both at central level and in the republics, intolerance of neighbors, chauvinism, nationalism, anti-Sovietism, and Russophobia—this turbid wave sometimes overwhelms even the most sensible minds, impels politicians into the abyss, and sets the intelligentsia at odds.

It is extremely important to realize that we are indeed on the brink: It is a question not merely of the fate of perestroyka but of national catastrophe. It will remain on politicians' conscience if they refuse to waive their principles for the sake of their own citizens' prosperity. It is the intelligentsia's job not to take part in causing disputes among the peoples and to prevent the spread of the general ailment—seeking reasons for one's failures in the machinations of others such as "anti-Sovietists," agents provocateurs," and "emigres" and trying to resolve highly complex state territorial problems hurriedly or by force.

The "National Accord" committee, comprising writers and public figures from the USSR and Russian emigres, urges the intelligentsia of all our country's peoples to channel their energy, minds, and talent not into internecine strife and confrontation but into training qualitatively new generations capable of coping with the tasks that perestroyka has as yet been unable to resolve.

[Signed] V.Astafyev, A. Afanasyev, G. Baklanov, I. Brodskiy, V. Bukovskiy, V. Bykov, N. Gorbanevskaya, A. Demenetyev, I. Zolotusskiy, D. Likhachev, E. Lozanskiy, V. Maksimov, E. Neizvestnyy, L. Plyushch, V. Fronin, and M. Shemyakin.

Girenko Expects Mid-91 Union Treaty Signing

LD1201042491 Moscow TASS in English 1951 GMT 11 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Feodor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev January 11 TASS—Visiting secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee told journalists that he thinks it wrong to blame the Soviet president for intervening in the internal affairs of Soviet republics. President Mikhail Gorbachev, [Andrey] Girenko said, demands that the leaders of Soviet republics observe the USSR Constitution and act within the framework of the country's fundamental law. The president must defend the USSR Constitution on the country's entire territory.

According to Girenko, no extraordinary developments are now taking place in Moldavia, which would set it apart from other hot spots in the country.

Problems in inter-ethnic relations, which have yet to be solved, exercise a notable influence on the social and political situation in the Republic. The situation in the Republic can be normalized only if all provisions of the presidential decree on Moldavia are fully implemented.

Concerning the new Union treaty Girenko said that it would probably be signed in the middle of 1991, if everything proceeds as it should. The failure to conclude the treaty will adversely affect the interests of millions upon millions of people in the country.

New Parties Cooperate Across Republic Borders

LD1301102991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2143 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Interview with V.N. Lysenko, cochairman of the Republican Party of Russia, by correspondent V. Pidchenko, pace, date not given; from the "Television News Service" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Pidchenko] Five new independent parties of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia have announced their readiness to amalgamate their efforts in the struggle for perestroyka and to consolidate their forces for the peaceful elmination of the totalitarian regime in the country, and the creation of modern states and a commonwealth of those states. How, specifically, do you see this objective being achieved?

[Lysenko] At the present time, democratic forces in different republics are preparing an alternative document to the union treaty adopted at the fourth congress. This envisages the establishment of a commonwealth of sovereign states, which will be created from below, not as a single state but as a genuine commonwealth of independent, sovereign states which will decide their destinies for themselves. Finally, the congress may itself be the final attempt to unite democratic forces in the various republics of our country in the face of the right-wing threat which is now looming over our entire country.

More on Chernobyl, Ignalina AES Incidents

PM1301153991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Union Edition p 7

[A. Pokrovskiy report: "Nuclear Power Station: From Smoke to Strike"]

[Text] At 0453 hours 10 January the output of the no. 3 power unit at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] automatically dropped. The reason—the switching off of the electrical system protecting the motor of one of the main circulation pumps.

"At the same time," as A. Kontsevoy, leader of the Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry Main accident coordination administration [Glavnoye avariyno-dispetcherskoye upravleniye], told us, "the automatic fire-extinguishing system in one of the cable compartments was triggered. A commission is clarifying the cause of the incident." On the international scale of events, the incident at the AES is classified as a level 1 event (not a significant emergency).

A different but no less alarming report has come in from Ignalina. In response to the Lithuanian Government's attempt to sharply increase retail prices, the AES collective there has adopted a resolution, in addition to demanding that the price rises be rescinded, also makes political demands. According to information of the USSR State Committee for Safety in Industry and the Atomic Power Industry [Gospromatomnadzor], the resolution proposes that contract prices be introduced for the electricity supplied to Lithuania as a measure for the social protection of the interests of the Ignalina AES collective. In addition, the station's collective warns that in the event of a new price hike not previously announced and the failure to adopt guaranteed compensation measures the Ignalina AES will be forced to call a strike. Then the supply of electricity on Lithuanian territory will be restricted...

[IZVESTIYA editorial footnote] According to a BALTFAX report, the Ignalina no. 1 power unit turbine ceased to operate 11 January.

Daily Criticizes 'Vremya' Vilnius Coverage

PM1601120191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Are We Hushing Things Up Well?"]

[Text] An extremely distorted form of reality burst on to our television screens in the evening of 13 January in the shape of announcer D. Biryukov, the "Vremya" program moderator. His noble graying hair and the fact that he had returned from Vilnius literally the day before, should have, according to the producer's plan, aroused confidence among viewers. Our esteemed colleague tersely described the situation in Lithuania, showed a conversation with USSR Internal Affairs Minister V. Pugo previously recorded, and then with a tremor in his voice and a disdainful gaze said roughly the following: There are said to be irresponsible people who have come out onto the streets of Moscow in protest.

There had been bloodshed in Lithuania, but we were shown Walt Disney cartoons...

This reminded us of old times: People were put in the "paddy wagons" to the sound of the "Kuban Cossacks'" cheery singing. We became terrified. Terrified, for your freedoms are ours...

BY THE WAY

Yesterday evening the Television News Service program was not broadcast.

People's Deputy Resigns From Supreme Soviet

91UN0695A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 1, 9 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by Aleksey Yemelyanov, USSR People's Deputy: "Why I Left the Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Today, the USSR Supreme Soviet is being reproached for indecision, inefficiency, and submissiveness. This criticism is correct. I resigned from membership in the Supreme Soviet after becoming convinced of its practical inability to function. I fear that this helplessness will intensify more and more, and that the deputies—members of the Supreme Soviet—will turn into apathetic button pushers. Rotation in the Soviet, in my opinion, will not improve its staff qualitatively. There are fewer and fewer people with independent opinions and expert knowledge. There are more and more of those who engage in representational activites and who do the bossing around. This can be seen from the record of those who joined the Supreme Soviet in the last congress.

Nevertheless, the experience of the work of the Union parliament is important and instructive.

During the entire period of Soviet rule, the first more or less democratic elections were held in 1989. This was a kind of shock for a society that was brought up under conditions of an alleged democracy. And the first congress of people's elected representatives showed that a mechanical recoil to the past was already impossible. It was later that the congresses became predictable and rather well directed, but the first was absolutely unique. The drama is that the new deputy corps in many ways exhausted its potential in the very first congress. Our leaders very quickly understood how far they could lead congresses, and they learned to direct them, succeeding in implementing all of their own decisions.

However, on the whole, what the USSR Supreme Soviet did should not be discounted. In my opinion, it was the Supreme Soviet that laid the legal foundations for the democratization of our society. In addition, using this experience, bouncing from it as from a trampoline, the republic parliaments were formed. And they were able to move farther along the path of democratic development.

It is very important now to analyze everything that was done by the Supreme Soviet, because an obvious retrenchment from the policy of democratization has been noted, and an attack by conservative forces is going on. We should in no way forget what the Supreme Soviet started from. In the summer session of 1989, our government was formed in the right way for the first time in the entire history of Soviet rule. With all of the limitations on real powers, and with the lack of any experience, it was possible at that time to ward off several candidates deliberately approved by the Politburo for work in positions of ministers and above.

We will recall that the Supreme Soviet began to work on new laws absolutely publicly and openly. In rather short periods, it was possible to prepare and begin discussions on the very important draft laws on property, on land, and on leasing. Despite all of their defects and shortcomings, they guaranteed a breakthrough by comparison with previous legislation. And so a number of fair and high quality laws were adopted. I am speaking, first and foremost, about laws on the press, public associations, and freedom of conscience...

Indeed, now many republic parliaments, and first of all the Russian parliament, have gone much further, and they are applying those same laws about land and property that are much more radical and profound. But, then, life itself is prompting this.

Was it really possible to suppose that the social conscience would change so fundamentally so quickly, in half a year to a year. Because as early as last winter, when the Supreme Soviet adopted laws on land and property, our leaders, including Gorbachev, could not get themselves to recognize private property. And within half a year, in the summer, private property was recognized in principle. And if our Supreme Soviet adopted the law on land now, then of course many of its provisions would be entirely different.

But the fact that a decision is being made to conduct a referendum on private property? It is possible to think of this in different ways, but it is impossible to imagine that a decision on such a referendum would have been made five years ago.

Negative aspects are also instructive in many ways. As the saying goes, a negative result is also a result. This especially relates to the last stage of work of the Supreme Soviet. For, using the Union parliament as an example, the republic parliaments will be able to analyze where and how the slipping starts, when the retrenchment begins, and at what stage authority is lost. It is important to catch when and how a democratic parliament is transformed into a screen for the adoption of decisions by the authorities. This is necessary so that the republic parliaments learn from our experience and from our mistakes.

Let those who follow us be bolder and wiser.

Lyubimov Views on Party, Army, KGB Criticized

91UN0701A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Article by Professor A. Krasnov, war and labor veteran: "On Two Chairs: On Yuriy Lyubimov's New Year Interview to Deutsche Welle"]

[Text] The knockout interviews given by some of our brazen compatriots to the mass media of both Western and Eastern countries have become—since some time ago—a rule. Although we now have more than enough home-made revelations a la St. John, whatever is uttered abroad sounds more truthful and impressive, since it is usually accomplished without witnesses. Nobody, as they say, pulls your sleeve or steps on your foot under the table. Nobody tries to gag you.

Now we have another such "divine revelation," created on New Year's Eve in Munich for the radio station Deutsche Welle. This time it is not just another hysterical Russian "democrat" that everybody is tired of listening to, but the famous director Yuriy Lyubimov.

First I would like to note that the interview is remarkably chaotic, a big "mishmash," a mix of culture with boorishness. This is not the main point, though; the importance lies in the presented "credo."

Soviet people are worried, for instance, that the de-state-ization of public property sometimes turns into a primitive sell-off. Property that was earned by the people's labor becomes a source of enrichment for certain groups or even certain individuals. People with stuffed wallets are becoming increasingly louder; in other words, a new bourgeois class is quickly emerging. Most Soviet people—if we judge not by information presented by a popular weekly but by serious sociological surveys—are concerned that our great all-people's possession—the land—may become an object for sale. Just by raising hands in a representative organ of this or that republic it becomes possible now to overturn October's historical decree that forever banned private property on the land of our country. The Soviet peoples are deeply concerned about the fate of the USSR being torn apart by nationalistic passions and by the actions of separatists and other politicos. The country is overwhelmed by crime.

It turns out, however, that these are not the things of concern to Yuriy Lyubimov. The subjects of his "anxiety," as he put it, are the "three whales" of perestroyka: the Communist Party, the military department, and the state security organs (the "party-military-KGB apparatus"). The whole of Lyubimov's interview exudes not only nonacceptance of these institutions but open hatred toward them.

The party, naturally, gets it first. As is known, certain people now make the party a scapegoat for everything and try to dump all the sins of the past on it. Yuriy Lyubimov belongs to this group of CPSU detractors. He throws buckets of mud onto the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the party leadership; he even saved some vulgar Philistine anecdotes for this occasion. Having reached the state of what they call "seeing red," the director demands—no more, no less—to "disband this party" and "let it get organized from scratch."

History knows many instances of communist parties being "disbanded" or "banned." This was done, by the way, by some people in that same country and that same city the waves of Lyubimov's tales now emanate. But that same history also demonstrates the unnaturalness, absurdity, and stillborn quality of such actions. Besides, if we talk about the party of Soviet communists, its position in society, and its role in history, it is clear to all unprejudiced people that although the party is responsible for past errors and miscalculations (I should note in parentheses that the criminal actions of some leaders are not the actions of the whole party), it also deserves the praise for its truly historic deeds in transforming our country (despite all the nuances of its present state) into a great world power. Was it not the communists who stood at the forefront of those who actively transformed life in the interests of the people? Was that not this same party that gave three million of its sons in the name of saving the Motherland from the "brown plague" during the Great Patriotic War? Naturally, none of those who now stage the persecution of the CPSU, including director Lyubimov, raise these questions in their own minds and in front of their audiences. They should answer these questions honestly, though. Then all the propaganda constructions will roll back to stand on their feet instead of their head. Who knows what would have happened to our country and the Soviet people, including talented artists, if the party of communists did not spearhead its heroic struggle in those dramatic times?

Millions of Communists continue to honestly participate in the common cause. Those who throw mud at the Communist Party have a clear goal: to turn the country away from the socialist path that is passionately supported by communists. The directorial bans delivered by Lyubimov on the radio may be suitable for the experimental theater, but they are absurd for the multimillion Soviet society.

By railing against the military establishment, this newborn politician persistently hammers in the idea that many thousands of our soldiers die in the army "in time of peace." This is a topic that has been of lately skillfully exploited by some politicos who organize demonstrations of soldiers' mothers. Yes, human fatalities happen even in peaceful times in the Armed Forces, just as they happen in society as a whole—any society. It is sad that it happens. And, perhaps, the military does not yet do everything possible, if not to eliminate entirely, then at least to reduce to a minimum the unjustified deaths of our boys. But, as it has already been officially explained, the number of those who perish in army units is proportionally much smaller per thousand people than in the country as a whole. So why inflate the significance of these facts? Is not this done to undermine the authority of the military leadership, and with that, of the Armed Forces as a whole, on top of the massive propagandistic defamation and discreditation attack they have already absorbed? This is something we need to think about.

It goes without saying that the state security organs are like a bone in the throat to Lyubimov. And he "gives it to them" accordingly. "Literature is being planned by the KGB..." "The KGB will distribute" humanitarian help from other countries...

Of course, the work of the state security organs needs to be improved and perfected. Especially in the current complicated economic and political situation in the country. Much is being done in this direction. Let us mention, for instance, the chekists' participation in the fight against the economic mafia and crime in general. But we cannot destroy them, as some would like. There is not a state that makes do without similar organs, and it cannot do without them unless it wants to put itself at the mercy of all kinds of eventualities.

Along the line of bashing the "three whales," Lyubimov encroached even upon the Soviet federation. For him, it is "a monstrous empire," compared "only to the Roman one." It needs—so it seems—to be "disbanded" (again "disband"!). He resolutely decries the "hatred" toward the "Baltics desire to gain true and real independence." The Union treaty? "How can it be signed when there are still so many unknowns?"

The listener of Lyubimov's stuff carried by Deutsche Welle can decide for himself which more prevalent in these judgments: ignorance or malice. Let us only note that so-called "dissolution," or, to be precise, whether the Soviet peoples should live in the great brotherly union or do without it, should be decided by the peoples themselves—the people whose historic experience already convinced them that their future lies in unity.

Lyubimov is terribly unhappy at some actions that have and are being undertaken by the authorities to bring order to the country. (Here he remembered "a number of bloody incidents" that ostensibly are the result of "squeezing until blood is drawn" from above, and into a collection he also tossed Armenia and Fergana, for some reason.) Is that not the reason the director attacks the "three whales"—because it is these three that are advocating order? Does Yuriy Lyubimov not think that blood is being spilled first of all in the places where there is an absence of elementary order and the law is disregarded?

Quite recently we were happy to see Yuriy Lyubimov return. The Motherland was open to his creative searches and desires. Naturally, we had hoped that the famous director would take a most active part in the perestroyka processes. But the things he is saying today, their tone, and the presentation of his complaints cast a shadow over our recent encounters with him. After all, one cannot sit on two chairs for long...

Perestroyka's Irreversibility Questioned

PM1701143091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Albert Plutnik article: "No Way Back?"]

[Text] Let us think. There is plenty of food for thought. Let us think: What is happening in the human consciousness when, say, you or I keep hearing that innocent little word "dictatorship" in the speeches of people's deputies? Or when in all seriousness, as the cliche goes, some of them start assuring honest folk that some of their colleagues are in the pay of the CIA, no less? And such statements—this is the most remarkable thing—lead to no consequences. Although it is quite obvious that someone should be held responsible for such actions. If the remarks cited above are true, then the underlings of foreign special services—to put it in the language of the recent past—must answer for it. If they are not true, then those who spread reports of this kind for, I assume, no good purpose must answer for it.

What is happening in society when, after the lessons of Tbilisi, after the lessons of Baku, and after the other bloody events of recent times, the "battle of Vilnius" breaks out, and it comes as a complete surprise to the majority of us? Not so much a battle as a massacre.

What is the response in the public consciousness, among the broad viewing public, when the sudden and instantaneous transformation of our country's television, switched to v[illegible] I would call a kind of lightweight version of informing the population on events at home and abroad? Apparently to save the strain on all our nerves, television has returned to the old, tried and tested method—to leave many of today's dramatic events off the screens, or at any event to comment on them exclusively in the correct manner, that is, basically, to stick to the official evaluations. As we now know, that is the policy of the television leadership—less politics, in the interests of you and me. Yet this abundance of lightweight programs itself becomes a policy, if they follow one another thick and fast at a time when it would be more appropriate not to seek entertainment, but to listen to funeral music—as with the events in Lithuania.

And all this against the background of rising prices, increasing shortages, the triumphal progress of the rationing system, increasingly tough norms for the release into certain hands of goods that never reach the stores... Perhaps what is happening fits into some kind of pattern for imposing order, in someone's unique interpretation of that term, in our country?

So what is consequently happening in our personal and public awareness? Much, of course. But it seems to me personally that chief among these difficult economic, political, and psychological consequences is the fact that people's confidence in the future is rapidly declining. Depression and apathy are taking the place of enthusiasm and inspiration.

According to my observations, people who personally have nothing to reproach themselves for are more frequently coming into this category nowadays. They have not associated their lives with any evil intentions, flawed ideas, or reactionary convictions. On the contrary, they have put their faith in highly progressive ideas.

But in speaking of the moral torment that besets these people today we should make some reservations. The fact is that confidence in the future cannot be universal in any society. For the sake of the public good, it is absolutely necessary for people in a certain section of society to have doubts about their own future and not to be confident that tomorrow will be as cloudless as today for them. The opportunist politician and the unscrupulous parliamentarian, the untruthful commentator and the successful criminal—in a normal society, should they, like the other full members of society, look to the future with optimism?

But I am not talking about them now—I am talking about a different category of people. Those who, I repeat, are in no way guilty before other people or the law, but many of whom are nonetheless suffering psychological discomfort at present, as if they sense that the ground is slipping from under their feet.

I am talking about people who were awakened by perestroyka, inspired and encouraged by it. Not those who, in short, are already well practiced in changing their convictions yet again, turning their coats, and donning the new color of the times. But those for whom perestroyka was their destiny, the expression of their long-suffering thoughts and feelings, whom it allowed to breathe deeply, to live openly and honestly, to live a full life. I am talking about those who were not ahead of their times, as many dissidents were at one time, but who were in step with the times. Whose life stance grew out of the principles of democratization, openness, deideologization and depoliticization of life, and commitment to panhuman values.

If, in the course of the "imposition of order," disrespect is shown for democratic norms and the principles of a rule-of-law state, then surely it is only natural for the aforementioned people to begin to feel anxiety, for fear to be awakened, to come to life in the depths of their souls, a fear based on doubt: Is another turnaround really impossible, another radical change, as a result of which life will, so to speak, get back to normal? In other words, that instead of the strong policy of the present power, a strong power on the old pattern will return?

It has been said so many times that there is no way back, that perestroyka has become irreversible. But taken together, the facts with which I began these notes, and others that I suppose everyone remembers, prompt many people to wonder, is there really no way back? And if a way back is indeed found, what kind of past will it take us back to? What kind of order will be restored?

Many who feel an anxious uncertainty about the future are not thinking only about themselves. This conviction is, thank heaven, strong in us: From now on, no one will be cut off from society for their political convictions or persecuted for a careless word, for leaving a big party to join a small one, for participating in "inflammatory" rallies, or for other acts of protest, testifying, among other things, that people took seriously the repeatedly declared democratic slogans of perestroyka, and indeed perestroyka itself—with the repeal of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, the multiparty system, the Law on the Press, and much, much else that has transformed society's life.

The political polyphony and openness of society in the days of perestroyka and glasnost, the prevalence of progressive, reformist trends over the conservative and the dogmatic, have brought into public life millions of people who were formerly, so to speak, exiles in their own country. People who did not want to participate in the common lie and tried, if only through distancing themselves with silence, to show their loyalty to the profaned panhuman values. Millions of people lived not in cities, not in apartment blocks or apartments, but inside themselves. Millions of people, recognizing from personal experience or the experience of their predecessors in other generations of Soviet people the true dangers posed to them by "ideological slackness," that is, genuine emancipation, true freedom of thought, the public expression of will, and the promulgation of their own views rather than generally accepted views, turned inside themselves. It appeared that there was no force capable of bringing them out of themselves.

In those years only isolated individuals raised their heads or dared to issue an open challenge to the established public morality. In any event, people felt a mass need for self-renewal only in recent years, when they recognized that internal voluntary exile means living nowhere, it is a form of spiritual slavery. The emergence of a multiplicity of informal movements, social organizations, and political parties, the ethnic awakening—all this is nothing but the result of an awakened human need to squeeze the slave out of oneself drop by drop. The era of politicization of the masses is the era of mass honesty and openness. The polarization of political forces and the diversity of views and interests is a return to an honest society. People came out into the open, trusting in the ideals of perestroyka, its leader, its stance. They flung themselves into politics, although for a long time many of them had seen it as work that is too dirty to get involved in personally. Now they put their trust in clean politics stripped of double thinking and self-interest. They trusted, they opened up—and so they became more vulnerable.

True, it looked as if no force was capable of making many of us act openly in public life. Perestroyka succeeded in breaking down an invisible bulletproof barrier. Because for the first time, apparently, in many decades of consciously following in the wake of the "official line," many people felt that with the birth of perestroyka they could participate in politics without betraying themselves, without deviating from moral norms, and without living a lie. And all at once there has come a whiff of some smell that we recognize from the old days. Suddenly there is reason to think that the ideas of democracy, the principles of a rule-of-law state, and loyalty to political rather than strong-arm methods of resolving contentious issues are even today not suitable for all the eventualities of life, but only, as it were, selectively.

Confidence in the future. The dramatic time that the country is living through can be judged accurately by looking to see who is gaining confidence and who is losing it. No, yesterday's men, those who were so frightened of perestroyka when it was first born, when it was just beginning to find itself, should not have more confidence in the future than the people who were awakened by it and put their trust in it.

Officials on Paper, Production Problems

91UN0698A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 10 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Vladislav Krukovskiy report on RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA roundtable with USSR paper industry officials and U.S. businessmen held in Moscow; date not given: "How To Save Glasnost: Will There Be Enough Paper?"]

[Text] **Our much-suffered newsprint roll RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA started to discuss in detail half a year ago, has rolled into 1991. As its white ribbon unrolled, it dragged with it a knot of last year's problems, adding new ones. One of them is the price of paper: It is now such that even million-copy publications are literally cornered. How can we rectify this situation? This was the subject for discussion at the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA roundtable.**

Among the roundtable participants were: V. Chuyko, USSR deputy minister of the timber industry; V. Tatarinov, deputy chief of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Agency] Forest Chemistry Department; V. Tatarchuk, USSR people's deputy and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Industrial Development; V. Baranov, general director of Solikamskiy cellulose and paper industrial complex; S. Vaykhanskiy, director of the Khersonskiy cellulose and paper plant; G. Ivanov, director of a cellulose plant in Piatkaranta, Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]; P. Belogurov, "Balbumprom" general director; and A. Kozlov, director of the Kiev branch of the joint enterprise on automation of the cellulose and paper industry.

Also participating in the discussion were representatives of the American company IBB—Vice President V. Adams, Marketing Director D. Bailey, and Director of Automation for USSR Projects V. Leshchinsky.

[Chuyko] Where did our current paper troubles start? In 12 years we have not put into operation a single papermaking machine in our entire cellulose and paper industry. The last "new construction" was the Ust-Ilimskiy cellulose and paper industrial complex. This shows how many years the industry has not been developing.

It is an illusion that this kind of lag can be overcome with some kind of "Rubik's Cube" that can be twisted and causing the holes to closed up. This is not possible without large investments. In 1988 alone the United States invested $9.2 billion on developing this industry; we have not invested a kopek, so what are we talking about? Perhaps we can talk about this: Our industry today is in such a state that it will, and already has, become a brake on the entire economy. We meet only 85 percent of the demand for printing paper, and only 60 percent for other paper products.

From the editors: At a recent news conference on paper problems N. Sankin, first deputy minister of the timber industry, said:

"If in the very near future the industry does not get considerable investments, railway sleepers, some types of construction materials, and pencils may disappear nationwide."

Gorkovlyuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Goskompechat [State Committee on Printing and Publishing], said at the same conference that his department has banned all printing houses in the country from printing unregistered publications. It is unlikely that this will affect the paper market, however. The Goskompechat has registered almost 800 new newspapers and magazines. Most of them, in the opinion of this department representative, buy the paper at speculative prices.

[Unattributed] Today we have gathered at RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA's initiative. Naturally, the main topic will be the production of printing paper, newsprint in particular. The planned target is to increase its production by 580,000 tons by the end of the five-year period. But how realistic is this goal? The paradox is that while it has an investment potential of 8.5 billion rubles [R] a year, the industry lives each year under conditions of financial famine.

Our "most forest-rich" country has been going through feverish shortages of wood resources for many years as well. Why? Because we have been "greening" so much during the recent years. A sharp reduction of commercial wood-cutting areas has deprived the cellulose and paper industry of many millions of cubic meters of wood. The problem is further aggravated by the extreme technical backwardness of our timber industry enterprises.

How do I see the way out of this? There is now a government decree to establish free market prices on all products of the cellulose and paper industry. The cap on the price rise is a 30-percent profit margin. (When the roundtable took place, this decree had not yet been made public. Now we can see with our own eyes what fatal consequences this decision will bring to most publications. Many newspapers and magazines are facing financial failure—V.K.)

We hope to use this to create a financial surplus for normal financing of the industry. "Paper" machine building remains a stumbling block. Here we will not manage without attracting foreign capital. We have appealed to the government to let us use all additional output resulting from enterprises' reconstruction, to pay back these investments.

It is also possible to solve the problems of raw materials if we manage the forests properly. The industry is currently producing 12.5 million cubic meters of wood chips. It is, of course, too little in proportion to 200 million cubic meters of solid lumber. However, the other 100 million cubic meters of lumber that are felled annually by the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and state and collective timber enterprises yields only 600,000 cubic meters of chips—the rest goes up in flames. We need to use the state power to finally liquidate this absurdity.

I think that the new economic structures should help the paper manufacturers. In Karelia, for instance, there is now an association of enterprises that includes the Kondopozhskiy cellulose and paper industrial complex and several timber and polygraphic enterprises. This will create an opportunity for wide latitude in maneuvering resources along the entire chain of suppliers.

[Ivanov] We are not terribly happy with your associations. So there will be one more monopoly on timber resources. And what are we to do? In the final analysis the cellulose and paper industrial complexes will be starved anyway. Now the Karelian Supreme Soviet has issued a decree prescribing the sale of 40 percent of the cellulose on the internal market. In practice, however, our enterprise's production is slated for barter operations. So, what are we going to use to make paper? Somebody has to think about us, too: The plant has not modernized its equipment for a quarter of a century. At the seminar our American colleagues showed us the tremendous effects of automation. But how can I buy these systems? We are caught in the crossfire between the local and central authorities, and all our production is simply confiscated.

[Baranov] I am going to spoil the hopeful picture painted to us by Vladimir Alekseyevich Chuyko. The scale of the Solikamskiy cellulose and paper industrial complex is well known today. We need 5 million cubic meters of timber a year. Last year our supply was 600,000 cubic meters short of that. And that was at a time when our oblast produced 17.5 million cubic meters. We are slowing down the production of newsprint for that reason, while the local authorities dispose of timber resources right and left. The Supreme Soviet of Russia has reserved Perm forests as a resource base for the paper industry. Perhaps some people need to be reminded.

Jumping ahead of IBB representatives, I would like to note that the cooperation between them and our cellulose and paper industrial complexes promises to be truly profitable. We are taking their automated systems for two of our machines, and will pay for them with paper. The output for each of the machines will increase by 10 percent, and it is not a bad compensation. Thanks to that, we are also gaining access to American, Canadian, and Finnish markets. The automation of the cellulose flow promises just as much, without even considering the benefits for the ecology. The development program for the three newsprint manufacturers Vladimir Alekseyevich spoke about may fail with such a state order.

[Vaykhanskiy] I would like to support Victor Ivanovich Baranov. Two things: First, for a while we forgot what technological modernization is. Second, now that we have remembered what it is, we are ready to undertake it on our own. All we ask is that nobody stand in our way while we try to implement the reconstruction. We have talked a lot about the timber shortage. The solution is to learn to use less of it, but that is only possible with the new equipment. Our government has to understand finally that everything depends on us, the producers, and stop tying up our hands and feet. For instance, we need a law that will allow earnings from exports that are used to amortize the cost of modernization to be exempt from taxation.

[Bailey] In my 20 years of work in the paper industry I have visited the USSR and many other countries; lately I have been in charge of our company's business in Eastern Europe. I am quite familiar with your equipment. Wherever they are installed, our automation systems have increased equipment productivity by five to 15 percent, and improved the quality of paper by 40 to 60 percent. And the payback period for the equipment and all other costs is six to 12 months.

Our experience of working with our colleagues in the USSR shows that despite growing competition on the world paper market, your equipment can work under conditions of most severe competition, and our company is ready to help you in this.

[Chuyko] Mr. Bailey, by how much do you promise to increase the productivity of the machinery?

[Bailey] In every contract we sign, it says: between five and 15 percent.

[Chuyko] You indicate efficiency; this is not one and the same.

[Bailey] When we talk about efficiency, we mean machine work time. If you want to insert specifically—to increase the production of paper by 10-15 percent—we are ready to do that.

[Baranov] Our contracts say exactly that...[end Baranov]

Gorbunov, employee of joint enterprise "Pris": "I would like to get a clear picture: Why does the Pravda publishing house get Finnish paper at $600-650 per ton, while we send the same product for export at a lower price? What kind of planning is this?"

[Tatarinov] Gosplan does not determine the plan for paper production by separate enterprises. Last year a decision was made to allow enterprises to sell certain quantities of paper direct to publishing houses.

By the way, I want to mention that for 1991 the state order for newsprint is 90 percent, and for printing paper it is even less—75 percent of production. The industrial complexes may dispose of everything else at their own discretion.

A few words about the problem in general. Last year we were 500,000 tons of paper short. Because of reduced circulations, the situation with newsprint will be better this year. However, we will still have to buy some of it abroad. By the way, each year we spend 750-850 million hard currency rubles to cover the deficit in cellulose and paper enterprises' output. Population growth alone requires the annual introduction of additional capacity for 300,000- 400,000 tons of paper.

I agree with my comrades that this problem can be partially solved by technological modernization. Contracts with IBB to purchase their automation systems will help overcome this deficit; we need to meet each other halfway.

None of those who have spoken today could avoid mentioning the problem of raw materials. This indicates how acute it is. We have a quarter of the world supply of timber—88 billion cubic meters—and half of the world supply of coniferous timber. And yet we have created such a situation that we will soon have to go to Canada and America for timber! Is this not absurd? If we continue to follow existing normative documents in timber production, this year we will fall 19 percent short of our needs in wood resources.

Yes, ecology is a serious matter; we have to protect our "green friend." But let us think about this comparison. Our wood cutting resources in the European part of the country total 22 billion cubic meters, while in the United States the entire national resource is 20.5 billion. The Americans produce 560 million cubic meters annually, while we produce—in the same European part—only 200 cubic meters. My conclusion is: We can increase the production of paper and cellulose in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. We have everything we need for that: forests, water, and human resources. We need to use more foreign technology and investments.

[Kozlov] We have just clarified one important practical matter regarding increased production of paper: The American systems will increase our yield by 10-15 percent. IBB has given us $22.5 million in credits. Our partners are prepared to go further than that. A question arises, however: Who, specifically, will provide guarantees for them this year? We have also asked the government of Russia to provide guarantees for the same $22.5 million, but we do not have an answer yet.

[Chuyko] It will be more difficult to get credit guarantees this year. The issue of compensation for expenses by final product has been resolved, but the Vneshtorgbank [State Bank for Foreign Trade] is unwilling to provide guarantees. The government of the republic should become another reliable guarantor. I think our ministry will act as a guarantor, too. It is very important that the so-called "presidential tax" be lifted from additional output made possible by reconstruction. This will not only provide good incentives for improvements, but will permit us to pay back the credit faster.

[Belogurov] There are two ways of increasing paper production: credit (reconstruction) or new construction. Not only do we not build anything; we are also slow in using the real potential for modernization. Here is an example. The country is experiencing shortages not only of newsprint but also of toilet paper. We have a machine standing idle because it does not have the necessary parts, but we cannot buy them—we are left with only 16 percent of earned hard currency. I believe that industries producing consumer goods should keep all extra output for themselves. Otherwise we will never break out of this vicious circle.

[Adams] We cannot help all of the deep problems the USSR cellulose and paper industry is experiencing. But ASUTP [automated system for management of technological processes] systems, our company is installing on the Soviet machines, will unquestionably produce an effect. We have tested it on more modern Western machines. IBB has designated $22.5 million in credit for the industry, and we are prepared to continue doing so in the future, provided we have guarantees that the credit will be paid back in final products. On issuing the credit we do not demand that it is paid in paper right away. This will happen only after the output is increased. By the way, just a fraction of that increase will be sufficient to compensate for our expenses.

We have already talked about the fact that the quality of paper will be such that it will be possible to sell it on the world market for $600-650 a ton. The fact that our partners do not have hard currency is a "bottleneck" in our cooperation. To reduce the hard currency component in total expenses on reconstruction of the machines' control systems, we will train Soviet specialists in the United States. No, we are not philanthropists; we are businessmen. What I just mentioned will be profitable for both sides.

[Bailey] I wish to add that one of the tasks of paper production automation that we offer is precisely what worries our Soviet colleagues so much today—the economy of wood resources. If instead of the planned 60-gram paper the machine suddenly starts to use 63 or 65 grams, our automated system will immediately "put it in its place." Or, for instance, we can increase the moisture content by two percent (it is possible), and thus save an equivalent amount of wood.

[Tatarchuk] The numbers just presented by Chuyko and Tatarinov bear witness that the industry is truly in danger of a raw material famine. But let us look at the root. The problem is not whether on a whim somebody could deprive the paper manufacturers of raw materials. In many cutting areas the forests cannot be cut any more because soil erosion and even a change in climate are already underway. At the same time, we are not creating new capacities in the areas of plentiful timber supply. Some people here complained about enterprise closures. But look at it from the regions' point of view. They get nothing but harm from these enterprises. Or look at the local soviets. What do they get from these enterprises other than a poisoned environment? Who would want to put up with that now that democratization is underway? Give them a share of your profits, and they will look at you differently. As long as all profits from the forests go into the government's pockets, the attitude towards enterprises is not going to change.

I find it strange and rather absurd to hear that not everybody here yet understands what benefit we can get from the IBB-made equipment. I have visited the United States and seen its effectiveness. Meanwhile we are still not able to implement these systems as widely as they merit. Bureaucratic procrastination and arguments about barters and guarantees stand in the way. My own Solikamskiy cellulose and paper industrial complex could have two such systems functioning by now, yet it is still not certain that even one of them will be operational this year. We can put together dozens of plans, but they will remain on paper until we get down to actual business.[end Tatarchuk]

* * *

When one analyzes the reasons for this acute crisis in the forest chemistry industry, similarities with other raw materials industries are clearly seen. While squeezing profits and superprofits out of merciless exploitation of the forests, the ministries did not care much about those who worked there. Nor were they concerned much with the technical level of this complex manufacturing.

Now we are reaping the fruits of this attitude. And now that we have to find a way out of this dead end, the commanders of our economy have resorted to a neat trick. There is no other word for this action. The price for even state order paper has been inflated sky high, let alone the price of paper produced above that.

The consequences of such an amoral policy have already dealt a blow to the family budgets of millions of people because of the higher price of periodicals. Books have become more expensive, and their price will continue to rise. But the treasury will see almost no benefit from this. This money will fill the pockets of shadow economy dealers. Yes, the smaller circulation of many newspapers will partially relieve the pressure. At the same time the desire to export paper will grow. This is also a benefit that will only last for a limited period of time, until it undermines prices on the world market. When that happens, it will inevitably affect our state interests, too.

Our economic clumsiness has been made even more obvious in light of our contacts with the American company IBB. The company offered us a mutually beneficial contract. Instead of evaluating it and getting down to business, we have lost a year on getting the paperwork done. But if we call the keepers of our state interests to answer for this delay, they will say in complete surprise: "We were only protecting public interests!" It seems that whichever way you look, economics and morality are really two sides of the same coin.

Economic

Defense Conversion Exhibition Opens in Moscow

PM1701133391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0330 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Report by unidentified correspondent from the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements ([VDNKh) in Moscow; from the "120 + 30 UTRO" program]

[Text] [Correspondent] These tanks can be bought at the "Innovator-91" exhibition at the VDNKh. Naturally, they are no longer suitable for military purposes. Clearly, this is not even necessary. The exhibition demonstrates what can be made out of ordinary combat tanks that were usually melted down.

Dismantled tanks can be used in timber felling, at nuclear power stations, and in fire-fighting operations. There is no end of uses for this powerful combat hardware which can and must be put in the service of our fatherland.

Most of the wonderful things on show here have been made from equipment used up to now for military purposes. You seem to have resolved the problem. Can you tell us about it.

[Unidentified speaker] The present "Innovator-91" exhibition covers a wide range of developments and products are available in our market for the first time and are not available in foreign markets. There are more than 1,000 types of goods at this exhibition-cum-fair. Some 300 enterprises from more than 100 cities in the Soviet Union are exhibiting here, as well as six foreign firms that have agreed to take part despite the tight schedule.

[Correspondent] Has the "Innovator" organized this exhibition because the state structures and organizations are incapable of doing it?

[speaker] Ours is a more flexible system. Small innovative enterprises are today essentially supplanting the monstrous giants representing our official science.

The fact that we account for 3.5 billion [rubles] of the 24 billion that are spent on science in our country, and that only one-fourth is used for civilian scientific and technological purposes, indicates that we are a serious competitor.

And last but not least, we have not proposed this conversion exhibition-cum-auction out of charity. We are hoping to invest the money earned here into innovative development of construction materials, the construction industry, the retraining of personnel released as a result of disarmament, and the creation of new jobs. We have a far-reaching program incorporating both commercial and social objectives. [goods on show include "Politent" canvass products, "Istra 4816" multiprocessor PCs, electronic radiomeasuring instruments and counters, various food processing gadgets, and "Infit" integral fitness gymnasium equipment]

[Announcer] The exhibition which has been organized by leading engineering and scientific societies in our country is opening at 1000 today. You are invited to attend an auction.

Element Contributing to Shortages Analyzed

914D0105A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by V. Gavrichkin: "How much for a Pound of Meat?"]

[Text] **The information that the meat problem has become extremely acute—not only is there no sausage in the stores, there are "neither heads nor tails" there, while the prices on the farmers' markets shoot up into outer space—started to reach us long before the New Year holidays. Therefore the problem cannot be written off as holiday buying. What is the problem then?**

Information sent to us by IZVESTIYA correspondents from the various regions of the country makes it possible to assess the situation.

FIRST—ONLY FACTS. Our correspondents report:

A. Yershov (Nizhniy Novgorod). The meat situation here has long been critical—it has not been available in the stores at state prices without coupons for several years now. During the last two or three months prices on the farmers' market more than doubled: Beef costs up to 18 rubles [R] a kilo, pork—R15, and lamb—R17. I went to Mytniy Market. There are about 10 people selling meat, no lines. Inside the stall of the trade-purchase enterprise, on the contrary, is pandemonium: Here beef and pork, not as good quality though, sell for R13 and R10, correspondingly. But they only have meat for sale once in a while.

M. Ovcharov (Yaroslavl). There are no changes on the meat "front" in the city. After the "bread boom" in May prices settled into a certain standard: pork—between R13 and R15, beef—R15. These are the only choices on the farmer's market. Naturally, there is no meat at state prices anywhere.

O. Stefashin (Karaganda). Despite considerable (up to 40 percent) rises in prices, markets in Karaganda are still affordable: Beef is R8, lamb—R7, and pork—R6 a kilogram. Prices for fowl have more than doubled, though. A chicken costs between R12 and R16, and a good goose will fetch R30. But it looks like the situation may worsen. The meat at the market is sold out in two to three hours. During the past year beef sales fell by 38 percent, pork—by 17 percent, and lamb—by 53 percent.

G. Shcherbina (Chelyabinsk). On the eve of the New Year holidays there was plenty of meat on the market. Beef was selling at R15, pork—at R12 to R13, suet, lamb, and fowl (mostly goose)—at R10. This wide selection was the results of the peasants' common sense—to butcher the stock when the frost settles in, by the New Year and Christmas. As for the authorities, they had practically no role in organizing not only market, but state sales as well. Many families were left to keep their unused "meat" rationing coupons as sad souvenirs...

There is a similar situation in Rostov-on-Don, Krasnodar, Volgograd, Barnaul, and Kursk... In Murmansk, after the New Year, meat cost R22 in the market; in Tyumen it was R16 to R18, and in the Maritime region—R19... There is no need to continue, the picture is clear. Residents of Moscow and Leningrad, however, were hit especially hard. This is, for instance, what our correspondent Ye. Solomenko reports from Leningrad: "Prices here are as follows: pork—R25 to R30, beef—R30 to R40, suet—R20. Lately, sausage that is clearly not home-made has started to appear on the market at R20 to R40 a kilo..."

The only bright spot seems to be Minsk. It is true that pork sells at R15 to R18 per kilogram on the market here, but at the same time the stores are full of beef at R1.90. And no lines. Why? "Because," reports our correspondent **N. Matukovskiy**, "the bones of large cattle accumulate more radiation—such as strontium—than the bones of pigs or fowl; everybody knows that, so they avoid beef." So this "spot" turns out to be a false joy, too. What, then, is the problem?

A POINT OF VIEW. Let us now listen to people who have encountered the problem face to face.

"We have been moving towards empty counters and high prices for about four years now," is the opinion of **V. Retsov, chairman of Aksayskiy Rayon Soviet (Rostov Oblast)**. "It all started when the farms were permitted to count meat purchased from individual peasants towards their plan fulfillment. The peasants benefit because they get the young animals and the feed; the director-chairman is happy without spending too much effort. Since then the farms have started to cut the number of cattle under the guise of stock renewal. As we can see, we do not have any more cattle than before; at the same time, the meat from individual producers that used to supply our local markets is diverted now into fulfilling the state order. The administrators care about one thing only—fulfilling the plan at any cost. The feed goes to individual producers, not to collective fattening facilities. Who is behind this organized sabotage? In our oblast alone we need to restore the cattle stock by 120,000 breeder cows and about 200,000 cattle!"

"We kept consuming our meat resources intensively until the New Year," maintains **V. Yermakov, chairman of the governing board of Rospotrebsoyuz [Consumers Union of Russia]**. "It was precipitated by the ridiculous twists in wholesale purchase prices. First it was announced that prices would be doubled or tripled between 15 September and 15 December. Everybody rushed to sell while the prices were good, even selling cattle that was not ready. Then it was announced that the prices would remain in effect until 1 January. Again, there was a new rush to sell, including cattle that should have been fattened longer. And only now do we learn that these prices are 'for good.' Insufficient advance thinking and incompetence are terrible enemies! Now when we buy meat in, say, Yaroslavl, Orel, Vladimir, or Bryansk Oblast, we are forced to pay up to R21 for a kilo of lamb, R8 for pork, and R10 to R12 for beef. The overwhelming majority of local soviets cannot afford to cover the subsidies from their budgets. So, by raising prices, we are not even aiming at profits, just making ends meet."

THE MAIN CONCLUSION. The meat crisis was brought about first of all by reduced production, further provoked by the uncertainty in prices, and aggravated by panic buying.

More from our correspondents. Meat deliveries to Chelyabinsk Oblast in September-October alone constituted 87 percent of last year's level. That is, deliveries fell 22,000 tons short. Plus 13,000 tons from oblast farms were used for "local barter" purposes—direct barter with industrial enterprises; however, this amount was included as delivered to... the state subsidies fund. There is a sea of examples like this. Thus, **meat deliveries to the oblast and industrial centers that receive "meat subsidies," are being blocked by suppliers or are provided on condition of reciprocal deliveries of deficit goods.**

BUT THE MARKET DEMANDS ACTIONS, NOT CONCLUSIONS. And not just command actions, but actions that take into account the laws of market economy.

...Just recently the Moscow City Soviet introduced this limitation: Meat at farmers' markets cannot be sold at more than R15. What was the result? The markets are rolling with laughter. The Moscow City Soviet has designated 200 stores which are supposed to buy meat directly from "privateers." But who knows about them, and how much effort should the "privateers" expend searching the capital for these stores?

The Moscow example seems to be contagious, though. Recently the president of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] stated on local television: "...We will hold the price on meat down firmly, and I have proposed to our colleagues (meaning the leadership of neighboring republics—V.G.): Let us set the state price for meat in Central Asia at R3. Not everybody can afford to undertake it, though. We will hold firm, however. Meat on consignment should not be sold at more than R7 per kilogram. And if the city executive council does not pass a regulation prohibiting the sale of meat for more than R7, we will consider it a serious failure."

It looks as if they have forgotten in Turkmenia how, ten years ago, the city executive council introduced "by decree" prices on the Ashkhabad farmers' market. This price list, prominently displayed at the market, was an object of laughter and entertainment for Ashkhabad residents for a long time after—the market lives by its own laws.

And we live by ours. We keep looking for shadow economy dealers. We bring create order by issuing stern resolutions; we manage the economy by command. Hence the results.

There is no question that we should fight the shadow economy dealers with all power available. But quite often we fight "windmills." The proof is in the following lines, sent by **our Omsk correspondent S. Suslikov:**

"I was able to sneak into the basements of the Omsk Central Market and peak into the refrigeration chambers, stuffed with 40 tons of meat. All the while the counters remained as if they had been windswept. This is how the market employees fight for... their interests. Meat purchases from private suppliers have been halted, and the "privateer" has no place to go: Not a single store, despite its empty counters, is permitted to buy meat—the law safely protects the emptiness of the counters.

"I dare say that today in Omsk there are objective conditions for meat prices to fall. However, the absence of free trade—and therefore, of competition—makes it possible for farmers' markets employees to deal successfully both with meat producers, and the consumers. There is a glut of meat, but prices are going up. And now we begin to hear voices that it is time for state security and the department for combating the mafia to come into the picture and bring order to the markets. It goes without saying that they would bring in workers' control, the department for combating the theft of socialist property, the oblast executive committee department on prices, etc.

Do we need all of this? Perhaps, it would be better to create normal conditions for the peasant who, to his own aggravation, has raised a piglet, and to give him a choice: take his meat to a state store, to a trade cooperative, to a farmers' market, to a workers' cafeteria, or a restaurant, or stand behind the counter and sell his meat on his own."

Yes, this is all correct. **The time has come to stop talking and resolve the issue of free trade, privatization, private**

and family- owned shops, and shareholder consumer societies. In short, to make trade work for the consumer, not unto itself. Then there will be no need for ridiculous anti-market measures.

Identity of Economic Saboteurs Questioned

91UF0344A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by I. Sichka: "The All-Union Canned Meat Inventory: They Say There Is Mass Sabotage in the Country. Then Where Are the Saboteurs?"]

[Text] During the last several months the word "sabotage" has been firmly implanted into our lexicon. First, as usual, came careful hints and suppositions that there must have been a reason for our economic mechanism to malfunction. Apparently uncoordinated information started to reach the media: in one place a large shipment of food had been dumped; in another, the boxcars full of goods in short supply had been waiting to be unloaded for a suspiciously long time... Since nobody was ever specifically mentioned as a culprit, all these incidents gradually, and quite naturally, were getting embellished by rumors and conjectures. Then finally in November we were told, clearly and unambiguously, from a high podium: Yes, comrades, we are dealing with genuine economic sabotage.

On 23 November the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "On the Situation in the Country," authorizing the creation of the Center for Combating Economic Sabotage on the basis of the KGB Sixth Directorate. Immediately, all our vague suspicions started to acquire names and addresses. Newspapers and television started to receive a stream of information about specific facts of concealment of food and various other desirable goods, about criminal deals in the sphere of the "shadow economy," etc.

One would think that now we could breathe a sign of relief: The KGB has finally become involved, they will soon bring things to order. But then, parallel to the rapid stream gushing from the Center for Combating Economic Sabotage, a small trickle of a different kind of information started to appear.

In its 25 December issue IZVESTIYA announced that the center's information—already reported on television—concerning 9 million standard cans of products that had been found stashed at the Georgiyevskiy canning plant (Stavoropol Kray) is incorrect. That is, the cans had indeed accumulated at the plant, but this had nothing to do with sabotage. The plant is on a leasehold arrangement and therefore has an incentive to ship its products as quickly as possible. They are forced to keep them in the warehouse because of the shortage of boxcars. There is no fault on the part of the workers collective in this. Thus, we have one "saboteur" less.

Two days later MEGAPOLIS-EKSPRESS published an article pointing out that the All-Union Radio carried incorrect information stating the KGB had apprehended a group of Moscow's Perovskiy Rayon Red Cross employees who had been stealing food from food packages. It turned out that the KGB had nothing to do with this operation—it had been conducted by the Moscow branch of the Administration for Combating the Theft of Socialist Property [OBKhSS].

One would think: What does it matter who caught the thieves—the KGB or the OBKhSS? In principle, it does not, as long as the thief languishes in jail. The logical question, however, is: How many "imprecisions" are there in the information that constitutes the "yield" of the Center for Combating Economic Sabotage?

The population responds most painfully to KGB information on the facts of sabotage in the sphere of food supplies. This is understandable: One may get through another winter in an old coat, but people need to eat every day. Speaking to the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies in December, KGB Chairman V. Kryuchkov gave numerous examples of the chekists' successful activities along this line:

"To better understand what we are talking about, I will present only a few established incidences of withholding goods intended for sale to the population and of unjustifiably long storage of some goods at warehouses:

—meat: 500 tons in the Department for Workers Supply of the Baykalskiy cellulose and paper industrial complex;

—canned meat: 441,000 cans in Ashkhabad, 250,000 cans in Tiraspol;

—rice: 1,100 tons in Tursunzade City;

—tea: 300,000 packages in a Tula distribution warehouse;

—cigarettes: 40 million units in Kazan;

—seafood delicacies: 28 tons of caviar and 804 tons of smoked sturgeon in Novosibirsk; 1,000 boxes of cans—in a produce warehouse in Krasnodar; and in Saratov—200,000 cans of delicacies, including 50,000 cans of salmon caviar..." Here they are—the concrete addresses of sabotage.

Until now all information coming from the KGB was accepted at face value. Not because this organization enjoys unlimited trust among our population, but because its information had been impossible to verify. But this case is an exception. This kind of thing is not within the KGB's normal activities. It is within the competence of the internal affairs organs and the procuracy. What have they found in their investigation of the facts uncovered by the chekists?

The Turkmenian Ministry of Internal Affairs informed us that the charge of withholding 441,000 cans of canned meat by the Ashkhabad wholesale warehouse is groundless. These canned goods had been kept in the state reserves for five years, and only recently released to the warehouse. It appears that their production date—1986—had confused the chekists, and they decided that somebody had been concealing these cans from consumers since then. It turns out that they had been "concealed" by the state itself, in its irreducible reserve that all countries normally have for handling emergencies (war, natural disaster, etc.), and is periodically renewed. In short, a clumsy mistake. Naturally, there were no grounds for initiating criminal proceedings...

The Tula Administration of Internal Affairs [UVD] informed us that it has not found violations in the storage and distribution procedures of the Wholesale Food Trade Organization of Russia. There are no inventories beyond the established norms. The goods are moved strictly in accordance with their designation. As to the above-mentioned quantities of tea, it only arrived in December and therefore cannot be considered concealed. No grounds for criminal prosecution...

The Novosibirsk UVD has not found any violations at the warehouses of the Novosibirskryba industrial complex. It is true that at the time of inspection there were 28 tons of caviar and 8.4 (not 804) tons of smoked sturgeon there. However, there is nothing criminal in these quantities. The enterprise supplies almost the entire Siberia and Far Eastern region with fish products. Naturally, its warehouses are never empty. But what does this have to do with "withholding from selling to consumers?"

It is the same situation, according to the Oblast UVD, in Saratov. True, caviar and the fish delicacies are indeed stored at the Saratovryba warehouses, but only for a normal storage period. The products are delivered to consumers on warrants from the Ministry of Trade. Another mistake...

The KGB leadership has presented to the Supreme Soviet an extensive report on the results of their actions in combating economic sabotage. In addition to the already mentioned examples, it lists many others:

"The KGB units are uncovering large thefts and abuses, carried out by criminal groups and shadow economy dealers. For instance, they uncovered 2.3 million rubles [R] worth of goods of high consumer demand in the Charjouskiy Oblast Consumer Union warehouse in the Turkmen SSR, and R30 million worth in the warehouse of various trade organizations in Leninabad Oblast, that included R7 million worth of imported goods..."

The information available from Charjouskiy UVD shows that the discovered goods do not fall into the category of concealed. It is the same in Leninabad. It is true that summarily there are R30 million worth of goods in all warehouses in the city. It is true that among them are R7 million worth of imported goods. So what? That is what warehouses are for, to store goods. It has nothing to do with "large theft and abuse."

Do you see what has happened? The KGB officers started to conduct a nationwide inventory of goods. They come to the warehouses and distribution centers, make lists of everything that is stored there, and send the reports to their superiors. And since all of this is done under the umbrella of the Center for Combating Economic Sabotage, all data immediately acquire an appropriately criminal coloration. As a result, the consumer gets the impression, first, of unheard-of dimensions of the sabotage in the country, and, second, the KGB's immense scope of activities in protecting the interests of ordinary workers. Remember, all information from the center is immediately fed to the media. And nobody bothers to explain to the population that if the chekists did uncover a few tons of butter at some warehouse, it does not necessarily mean that this butter was stolen or in any way concealed from the population.

I am far from saying that nothing gets stolen, that goods are not hidden under the counter, not resold at a premium, etc. There are more than enough examples of that. Just as I have no reason to state that absolutely all information coming from the Center for Combating Economic Sabotage is groundless. Nevertheless, the facts mentioned here (and their list could be continued) do give us reason to believe that we are dealing with falsification.

It is quite obvious that we are in a middle of another campaign. Those who are charged with it (first of all, the KGB), naturally, are interested in reporting—as loudly and as quickly as possible—on it being carried out. This is typical of all our campaigns. Therefore everything is included in the reports, as long as the facts are genuine. Whether they contain a criminal element in another matter. I think if we continue along this road, in a month or two there will be no warehouse or distribution center in the country that the chekists fail to brand as a seat of sabotage.

Besides, the KGB has its own interest in displaying special zeal in this campaign. Lately, the authority of this organization has slipped considerably. The antisabotage front presents it with the opportunity to show itself in a better light.

I would still count these factors as secondary, though. The main initiator of the overblown myth about economic sabotage, in my opinion, is not the KGB. And it is not accidental that the beginning of this campaign coincided with another one—on strengthening the executive power organs.

On one hand, the population is being told: We have had enough of these democracy games, you can see for yourself what sea of abuse it has led us to. On the other, it is being pointedly shown: We have everything—meat, butter, caviar... Yes, we still do—so far. Our newspaper undertaking "The Meat Exchange" is a proof of that. But not enough to state that as soon as we take care of the saboteurs everything will fall into place, and the store shelves will fill up automatically.

They will not fill up. There are no goods, not because somebody is hiding them, but because production keeps falling. The economy is in crisis. And the existence of a large-scale economic sabotage relieves the government of the necessity of answering for the results of their management of the people's economy, for the disastrous "stabilization" programs, for the ruined bumper crop, for the now uncontrollable inflation, and many other things. Who should take the blame for all that? In this situation large-scale economic sabotage is their last-resort magic wand.

The real, not imaginary, sabotage is not taking place in the warehouses and distribution centers. It is taking place in those echelons of power that during the past several years have been successfully blocking the country's movement toward the market economy, and toward civilized forms of economic and social relations. Yesterday they were fighting to the death to preserve Article 6 of the Constitution; today they are desperately resisting private property and entrepreneurship. As a result, in five years of perestroyka, glasnost still has not become freedom of speech, and democratization—a democracy. Instead, we have dug up the tried-and- true weapon of our grandfathers: We started to look for saboteurs.

Popov's Proposed Economic Solutions Criticized

914A0269A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jan 91 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Article by Professor I. Antonovoch, doctor of philosophical sciences: "How G.Kh. Popov Answers the Question: What To Do?"]

[Text] On the eve of the Fourth USSR Congress of People's Deputies, a series of articles by Doctor of Economic Sciences, Professor G.Kh. Popov has appeared in the newspapers. It has attracted general attention, and it would seem that it is not just because the author is the chairman of the Moscow Soviet and one of the leaders of the interregional deputy group, but also because he is known to the readers for his serious approaches to social problems. Many undoubtedly will recall his essay-review of Aleksandr Bek's novel "A New Destination" published in April of 1987. There G.Kh. Popov essentially formulated the concept of the administrative command system, defined its basic vices, and predicted an unenviable fate for it. For us this was a time foretelling fruitful reforms and intense searches for paths to future transformations. And everyone thought that the positive changes were not far off.

Far from all hopes have been justified and the waves of intellectual pluralism have either broken on the reefs of traditional dogmatism or exhausted themselves in political radicalism or else in empty phrase-mongering. There are also articles on purely economic questions published by G.Kh. Popov in the same journal, NAUKA I ZHIZN, in 1986-1987, that are somewhat less original than the aforementioned essay, and perhaps quite traditional or even apologetic. The author conscientiously quotes the classics and numbers plenum decrees for proof of what is to be sure a very original idea; he approached an understanding of the notion that one of the causes of stagnation of economic development in our country in the middle of the eighties was the departmental fragmentation of the management of the national economy that impeded scientific and technical progress, supposedly a universal attribute of productive forces.

By the middle of the eighties state property had completely taken over cooperative-collective farm [kolkhoz] property and had become the only form of ownership of the means of production and, unable to bear up under this social load, itself broke apart into departmental domains. The departmental breakdown of state property made the system of the national economy uncontrollable and predetermined many of the processes that activated the stagnation, above all the deep-seated hostility to scientific and technical innovation.

Along with departmental control came monopolies that smother initiative and enterprise, introduce wage leveling, ignore differences in talent, ability to work, and discipline, and, the main thing, show no interest in the development of new products, improvement of quality and external appearance. They avoid entering the world market with a finished commodity that will sell under conditions of the stiffest competition, but rely on only raw material that guaranteed reliable incomes of hard currency, albeit in decreasing amounts.

Let us say directly that the apologetic direction of the theoretical articles of the time hampered G.Kh. Popov's reaching these conclusions. His articles from 1986-1987 are dotted with assessments of the "exceptionally well-structured quality" of the plan for industrialization, an analysis of the "main accomplishment of the socialist revolution," evidence of the "radical advantages" of the socialist system of running the economy, and certain doubts about the expediency of individual labor and individual initiative.

It is not without interest to note as well G.Kh. Popov's profound assurance, as early as 1987, that we will have to live under socialism for a long time, that our future lies in the direction of communism. It was in socialist development that the scholar at that time (that is, in that same year of 1987 and even in 1988) saw the conditions and the development of democratism, glasnost, fair distribution according to labor, the possibility of restricting the scale of direct centralism and universal planning as a basis for the growth of bureaucratism, and many, many other things. Here the author also acts as a direct apologist for social consumption funds under socialism and an unambiguous proponent of distribution according to labor.

But when you find out about the ideas professed by G.Kh. Popov today, one is surprised at the sharpness of his turnaround. In essence, everything he said just two years ago he completely crosses out now. Such an abrupt switch to diametrically opposed positions is a rarity in social science of the 20th century. Of course, perestroyka is a radical process and indeed does demand qualitatively new ideas, but they are not discovered by making a 180-degree turn...

Let us try, however, to get away from the moral-ethnical aspects of the abrupt change in philosophical positions and discuss the essence of the ideas themselves. They were presented in issues 50- 51 of OGONEK for 1990, under the title "The Future and Reality." It seems that it would be more logical to call it "Reality and the Future" for the future grows out of nothing other than today's real state of affairs. By occasionally switching words in this way, G.Kh. Popov achieves a fairly successful effect: It turns out that the future encounters contemporary realities and cannot go further.

In his new work G.Kh. Popov undertakes an analysis of the problems of the economic reform, democracy, sociopolitical changes, and the dispute about power in general. The author gives us to understand that he is not speaking on his own behalf alone. He admits that he did not reach the conclusions published there by a simple route. Both the analysis and the conclusions were affected, as he says, by the victory of "democratic Russia," the election of B.N. Yeltsin as leader of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] legislature, the enticing prospects of the activity of the new Russian Government, and the "practical sense of the power we received in Moscow." G.Kh. Popov is convinced that he has found within himself the power to look at the country, at democracy, and at himself from the outside, from the objective positions of a scholar. And here he gives a number of answers to the sacramental question of "what to do?".

In his opinion, there is now a struggle between the "democratic" and "apparatus" variants of perestroyka, and a unique diarchy has developed in which the apparatus cannot realize its variant because it does not have enough power, and the "democrats" are not capable of implementing their variant. They advise immediately creating a coalition at the center consisting of the constructive part of the apparatus and democratic forces. They are in favor of a regime of strong executive power during the transition period so that the democrats can take the power into their hands and then distance themselves from the apparatus, and they will immediately begin the struggle for a "new quality" of the state structure, for new direct elections, and for a union of democratic forces.

Let us say frankly that the proposals are not inspiring. Again this involves certain administrative shifts, a tug-of-war, plunging the country into an early electoral campaign, constant rallies, and the transfer of power to self-appointed democrats. In other words, what is being proposed is a continuous power struggle at all levels. Yet the main thing in the country is not so much who holds the power as how to put a stop to the economic chaos, the anarchy, the threat of famine, and the collapse of the Union, and restore the normal functioning of productive forces, social institutions, energy installations, and transportation. The question today is how to arrange a normal life in the country so that each citizen can hope for fair remuneration for his labor that provides him the necessary goods in life and a safe life without the threat of crime or violence based on ethnic, racial, or other indicators. Where does G.Kh. Popov find the difference between his ten organizational measures and the country's real problems? It seems to us that many of our new social formations—parties, movements—are too involved in the struggle for power, they have neglected the interests of the people who elected them, and they have lost their idea of the real problems that are tormenting the fatherland.

G.Kh. Popov has not managed to avoid this either. Let us look at his speech at the Fourth USSR Congress of People's Deputies where he declared that the major problem is not production discipline, not the disruption of the deliveries of food, and not the economic chaos and destruction. The whole problem, according to Popov, is that every citizen in the country, as before, cannot "receive his piece of land free of charge," "cannot receive his share of state property and cannot become the owner of an apartment because the party apparatus retains excessive control over economic and other structures."

Thus G.Kh. Popov and those he considers to be democrats formulate their major theoretical premises. They see the task not as arranging for normal economic life in the country but as implementing immediate and forced privatization of all national property: the industrial-production potential, the land, the housing, the social services, and so forth. According to this program, the way out of the crisis is offered to each person individually, with his share. But nobody makes it clear just what a share is and how each of us is to use it.

G.Kh. Popov discusses this in another article published recently in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA under a no less emotional title, "What To Do When Nobody Is To Blame: Question and Answer." There he suggests a "democratic program" where each citizen has a right to his share of state property, production capital, and land. This share is determined according to an equalizing work plan: either per head or per year of work tenure. We are being offered a variant that has no precedent anywhere throughout the 2,000-year history of the existence of European civilization. In a number of countries of Western Europe, after a change of governments it sometimes happens that nationalized branches are "denationalized." But this simply means that they move from state hands to private. In England, for example, about 20 percent of the workers at heavy industry enterprises are stockholders, but the total capital of the "mass stockholder" rarely exceeds two to three percent of the overall value of the production capital.

How could it happen that forces that call themselves democratic suggest simply breaking our economic potential down into tiny "private" pieces? After all, the thousand-year history of our homeland is distinguished by an intense gathering of all goods into a unified common whole. A unique organization of the socio-production process has grown. It is still imperfect but for the first time in world civilization is trying to realize the right to remuneration according to labor. Socialism has failed to achieve a great deal but it has created a certain system of social protection of the workers that is easy to dismantle into "sections and partitions" but is almost impossible to recreate.

Incidentally, enthusiasts of an "equal share" absolutely do not make it clear how we are to divide up property—are we to divide up only the existing industrial potential, land, and personal property or are we also to divide up the state debt, running into the billions of dollars? Dividing things up certainly does not mean that when we receive our share we will immediately become stockholders who receive income on their shares. It could be quite the opposite: We could be told to take out loans to provide for the production's activity, we might have to buy up unprofitable enterprises and not so much get rich as go deep into debt.

If everyone rushes to grab his share in the profitable enterprises, what will happen to those that are not profitable? G.Kh. Popov offers an answer that is not altogether sincere and clearly simplistic for an economist. He says directly that if members of one collective or another do not wish to become property owners or refuse to make a decision, we must immediately organize the sale of this property to those who want it. But who wants to enter into property ownership? The answer is clear: People who have sufficient capital. As we know, the ordinary citizen in our country who lives on wages does not have sufficient capital. People who want to be property owners might come from abroad. So for G.Kh. Popov the entire question of privatization is not so much one of distributing a share of the property to everyone who wishes it as the auctioning off of our national property.

Then at least it is clear! Privatization is a rejection of public ownership of the means of production and replacement of public ownership with private, i.e. capitalist, ownership. G.Kh. Popov is not the only one who proposes this kind of panacea for all our problems; it is on the lips of many "democrats" who are yearning to return our country to "the general civilized direction of development." And where did these people who call themselves democrats get the idea that we are outside the world civilization? Beginning with the 16th century we have saved Europe twice, we have made a significant contribution to world civilization, and we occupy a worthy position in it. This has been recognized by more than one generation of humankind. Under the guise of "civilizing" demagogy we are invited to return to capitalism.

Incidentally, G.Kh. Popov discusses the fact that he continues to consider himself a socialist. Nonetheless, he reproaches the founder of our state who is supposed to have made a "fatal mistake" when the universal regulation that appeared during World War I was taken by V.I. Lenin to be the level of development of the entire economy and therefore he was mistaken in his analysis of imperialism.

For an eminent economist this is, to put it mildly, an inaccurate interpretation of the works V.I. Lenin. It is known that V.I. Lenin's major work, "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism," a Russian edition of which came out in April 1917, analyzed the main sociopolitical and economic processes in Europe not on the basis of the results of World War I alone but over the half century that had passed since the publication of the first volume of "Das Kapital." The main result of capitalist development was indicated: concentration of production, first leading to monopolies and then making it possible to replace this with socialization, i.e. collectivization in the interests of the workers. This major conclusion has retained its significance up to the present time and it cannot be discarded so simply when analyzing historic realities.

The essence of perestroyka in the economy according to G.Kh. Popov: denationalization and withdrawal of the state. In his interpretation this actually means turning public property over to the private ownership of the masses of people. In other words, this is a breaking down of economic potential and destroying in one fell swoop structures that have worked for us during the course of the century.

From the standpoint of destruction the device is practically failsafe. Creation is more difficult: With the atomized economic potential it is impossible to reach the level of world processes. Everywhere in the world the prevailing tendency in economic development is the highest concentration of production as the only basis for the application of scientific and technical progress on precisely that interdepartmental scale about whose possibilities G.Kh. Popov dreamed in his "preperestroyka" articles.

In spite of our multitude of shortcomings and problems we still have historical achievements as well: In general production associations and on profitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes [state farms] we have reached a high level of production that, in the opinion of many eminent domestic and foreign specialists, is capable of becoming a reliable social basis for modern programs for scientific and technical progress—the only means of increasing labor productivity, reducing production costs, and thus increasing the public wealth. It is important not to squander national property in various private quarters, to skillfully take advantage of what has been achieved, and, on this basis, to increase modern labor productivity. At the same time free socioeconomic processes must be allowed to develop: lifelong ownership of land for those who wish it, leasing of enterprises, ownership by production collectives, the buying up of certain small enterprises, and so forth.

Why does this obvious fact escape the attention of our democrats? It seems to me that they are being held captive by the romantic illusion that socialism can be replaced by capitalism just as easily as laws and ukases are passed in certain of our regions. In the society there are deep forces opposing enforced privatization. Before introducing it as a universal compulsory movement, we should study not only public opinion but also the real economic and social structures and their ability to develop in the direction of privatization. Forced privatization contains the same social danger and requires the same economic sacrifices that were once imposed on us by forced, accelerated collectivization. It is dangerous to repeat this same negative experience.

This was understood, incidentally even by the heir to the British throne, Prince Charles, who recently in a television interview warned against hopes of easily replacing socialism with capitalism. And our self-appointed democrats assume that since it was so easy for them to move from communist positions held for appearances to ardently anticommunist positions, the entire society is prepared to repeat their dizzying opportunistic about-face.

One cannot agree with the idea of "de-sovietization." Let us begin with the fact that our author is inconsistent in his attitude toward the soviets. In one of his articles he discusses the "omnipotence of the soviets," in another, their powerlessness, and in a third—the need for strong executive power and even an iron fist.

Of course, G.Kh. Popov is right in saying that the soviet political mechanism proved itself to be ineffective during the course of perestroyka. But here it is also important to analyze why those "democratic forces" that took over power in a number of soviets (the Moscow Soviet and the Leningrad Soviet should be the first to be mentioned) turned out to be so ineffective in implementing the perestroyka programs. But the chairman of the Moscow Soviet avoids a self-critical analysis here, although the course toward de-sovietization that he recognizes its failure. I should like to recall here a famous conclusion of V.I. Lenin to the effect that we might be only a Soviet and not a parliamentary republic and herein lies the main distinction between a socialist and a bourgeois republic. The more so since the Soviets originated in our country not as a result of the 1917 revolution but were the logical choice as a result of the revolutionary struggle throughout the 20th century. The soviets are an organ of popular rule that has emerged from the depths of our history, and to lay out a course toward de-sovietization today, toward dismantling of the existing structures of the soviets, toward restoration of the forms of bourgeois parliamentarianism—this would mean to try to reinforce through political means that turn away from socialism toward capitalism that is suggested by democratic forces and that the country's worker movement rejected long ago.

Almost all of G.Kh. Popov's verbal and written statements abound in declarations of the capability of "democratic forces" to accomplish progressive transformations, for they allegedly enjoy the confidence of the people, while apparatus and partocratic structures do not. What are these "democratic forces?" When speaking of them G.Kh. Popov almost always refers to the Democratic Russia association. From the very beginning of its existence Democratic Russia has declared its opposition not only to the CPSU but also to the socialist option of the people and its anticommunist tendency. G.Kh. Popov does not clarify how much yesterday's Communists and today's anticommunists enjoy the confidence of the people. Let us try to figure it out.

There is an axiom about any democratic movement—it always has the broadest social base, expressing the interests of the working strata of the people of any country. Judging from the materials of the recent founding congress of Democratic Russia, it has 10,000- 15,000 members. The structure of this organization is as follows: No more than two or three percent are representatives of the workers and pensioners, and there are almost no peasants at all. Most of those who call themselves "democratic forces" today are members of the intelligentsia—from VUZ's [higher educational institutions], scientific research institutes, special design bureaus, and so forth. Of course, the intelligentsia are also a part of the working people. But pay attention to the fact that the "democratic forces" G.Kh. Popov spoke about during the course of the elections of USSR people's deputies and then the elections to the republic supreme soviets and local soviets came with a platform essentially different from the one they proclaim now. Suffice it to say that their leaders—B.N. Yeltsin, G.Kh. Popov, Yu.N. Afanasyev—fought for their places in the soviets as Communists and passed themselves off as proponents of perestroyka within the framework of the socialist option. Now they have changed their political affiliation. We do not know whether the voters like this sharp change of direction.

At least we do not know of a single case so far that a representative of the "democratic forces" would say that he has changed his convictions so drastically because this is what the voters asked for. In general, the "democratic forces" do not analyze the fidelity to the mandates given by the voters, and they should... In any case the several thousand people who count themselves among the "democratic forces" can by no means lay claim to the role of being the only one who express the will of the people. The will of the people is simple: They support the soviets and their decisions. And in this sense it is probable that not the disbanding of the soviets but all kinds of strengthening of them is the main political task of the present day. Guided by this, the RSFSR Communist Party calls all social forces to constructive cooperation in the soviets.

It seems to us that G.Kh. Popov ends up in an obvious contradiction when he demands a strong legislative power monitoring the president and at the same time assigning the legislative organs—the soviets—the role of opponents of the president. An opponent and a monitoring legislative organ are not the same thing. Our soviets today abound in opponents, conflicts of "opinions," and ambitions, to be sure, most frequently regarding procedural problems. They do not yet have very many documents that provide for monitoring the execution of laws that have been adopted and strengthen law and order in the country or are directly oriented toward emergence from the crisis. But this is a weakness of young organs of popular rule that can easily be overcome during work. It is not a justification for the Soviets to disband themselves.

G.Kh. Popov's statements regarding "federalization" as the only means of solving the country's national problems are questionable. Of course, one must agree with him when he says that it is impossible to imagine preservation of the USSR without the voluntary agreement of those who live in the country today. But why is it necessary first to disperse and then to come together again to reinforce this agreement? Then he advances what is in his words a "brilliant idea that we clearly underestimate" from A.D. Sakharov "to be oriented not in terms of borders but in terms of nations."

With all of my respect for A.D. Sakharov, I am forced to recognize here that he himself "clearly underestimated" the complexity of the national map of our country. We do not have a single mono-national republic (just as, incidentally, there is not a mono-national country in Europe). Imagine how many new Karabakhs and repetitions of the Moldovan, Georgian, and other situations might appear in this case and how much more blood would have to be spilled. The more so since G.Kh. Popov recognizes this idea and fully agrees with it as a "major yardstick in dismantling the USSR." But why? Does he really want to become the first and only scholar and political figure in Europe who is deliberately looking for means of dismantling his own country?

G.Kh. Popov criticizes Stalin for the fact that he established the borders that exist now and assures us that changing the borders would present no big problem. The question today, however, is different—a large share of our borders have developed politically and not geographically, and the great shift of the peoples has made it impossible to establish what would amount to an infinite number of autonomous regions. This is a question not only of our state integrity but also of the danger of disturbing the world historical balance. We must work out a variant of the new Union treaty with each nation and each citizen of the country having the right to realize his own national-cultural and historical traditions, realizing his ideas and obtaining the right to development without fear of force from without or from within. The rule-of-law multinational state is the only one capable of avoiding the great- power attitude of large and small nations, overt racism and chauvinism that have already made themselves felt in certain republics that at the beginning of our perestroyka movement proudly called themselves the outposts of perestroyka. Certain of the "overseers of perestroyka" who have come to power in these republics have already managed to initiate laws that prescribe the death sentence for nonconformity. It is easy to imagine what the "dismantling of the Union" would be like if undertaken by these forces.

The conditions for free resettlement of masses of people from certain republics to others, denationalization, the reduction of certain republics at the expense of regions with a predominance of nonindigenous population and the enlargement of others, and the division of property according to republics—these things cannot be called anything but dangerous dilettantism. Let us pay attention to the fact that the dominant aspect in our theoretician's conception is separation, not unification—fragmentation, not cohesion, a kind of parochial variant of the solution to all-Union tasks and problems.

This strategy is more like a tactic, for it abounds in those same simple postulates: neobolshevist slogans of "inflicting a great defeat through force and raising up all the masses and throwing them into battle," and promises of development, private entrepreneurship, competition, and "merciless training in the school of unemployment in the skills of effective labor," and so forth. Let us note that this last formula—training through unemployment—is not expressed even by bourgeois sociologists and political scientists. Everywhere in the world responsible governments are trying to reduce the level of unemployment and ease the suffering it causes people. And here it is offered to us as a powerful school of effective labor.

True, G.Kh. Popov says that these methods can be used only by "democrats who grew up on the soil of the disintegration of bureaucratic socialism nourished by the ideological dogma of this system and carrying with them all the filth of its decay. Are these the "democrats" among whom G.Kh. Popov includes himself? Incidentally, this kind of self-criticism has never been heard from him before! Of course, our author is right in saying that such "democrats" are not very suited for creating and solving the burning questions of modernity. Too many of them are inclined to empty talk and not future hard work.

Contrasting the "apparatus" and "democratic" variants of perestroyka is unrealistic, for our society cannot be reduced to either one of them. This very approach is simplistic and primitive. Behind it lies the division of the society into suitable and unsuitable, the danger of introducing intolerance instead of harmony, the reproduction of the division into "red" and "white," more red and less white, and so forth. The country has been through all this and has paid a high price. The strategy of survival that is dictated by present circumstances is different: the restoration of the severed ties and operation under conditions of a unified economic organism, that G.Kh. Popov in the not so distant past devoted many warm and rewarding pages. And it is no wonder, for economic integration is the basic direction of modern production processes everywhere throughout the world. Only on this basis is it possible to have social unity in diversity and a majority democracy.

The political structures of the renewed unified Union can grow only from new social wealth, where all will have security, freedom, and sovereignty. Incidentally, about sovereignty. Many lines in G.Kh. Popov's article are devoted to this, and a sea of words has been spent on it in the most diverse parliaments of the country—from the rayon soviets, declaring themselves to be sovereign and independent, to the highest legislative levels. But there are still few fruitful ideas in this heated polemic.

In our view, one of the largest mistakes is that sovereignty is interpreted as complete independence. Historically, the idea of sovereignty in Europe developed somewhat differently. Sovereignty is, above all, the legitimacy and legality of existing power structures, their support from a broad social base, and their democratism. Such are the tendencies in the development of sovereignty in all countries of Europe beginning with the 18th century. Legal power is always sovereign, and when legal power is lost in a country, the freedom of the people and the independence of its citizens are inevitably lost as well. This is simple.

And it is quite obvious that socially responsible political leaders under modern conditions cannot contribute to the breakdown of the Union. On the contrary, they must contribute in all ways to its reinforcement because we are convinced that any attempts to break down our common historical property in the economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual areas into autonomous, self- regulating, and isolated regions, destroying thousands of years of work of many generations of people living on our territory will bring bloodshed and suffering not only to current generations but also to future ones, and such actions have never worked for the good of anyone anywhere.

The realization of sovereignty under our conditions requires the legal conditions of multinational cooperation of nations, peoples, nationalities, and citizens living in economic union and close interdependency, in a condition of sufficient sociopolitical freedom and legal protection that guarantee the realization of their national and cultural traditions and satisfactions of their needs, and the realization of their historical destiny and the granting of freedom and happiness to each Soviet person.

And the right to freedom and happiness has been fully earned by each citizen of our great homeland. This right has been paid for with the lives and blood of preceding generations, and each of us today, working as hard as we can, affirms this right every day. We are now in a stage of crisis, and we are working as hard as we can, sparing neither ourselves nor our fathers, to analyze our past and our present. History is neither good nor bad. Triumph and tragedy are closely interwoven in it. We cannot judge it, we can only learn from it. This is the only way we shall emerge from the crisis revived and enriched with past experience and shall fill the pages of history that we are writing ourselves with our own unique contribution, that will also, in turn, be brought before the court of our posterity.

Scientific

Cosmos-2121 Satellite Launched 17 Jan

LD1801091791 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Yet another satellite in the Cosmos series, the Cosmos-2121, was launched in the Soviet Union by a Soyuz-1 booster rocket on Thursday [17 January].

The satellite, which carries scientific equipment to continue space research, was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

—initial orbital period—88.7 minutes,
—maximum distance from the earth's surface (in epogee)—275 kilometres,
—minimum distance from the earth's surface (in perigee)—177 km,
—orbital inclination—82.6 degrees.

Apart from scientific equipment, the satellite carries a radio system for precision measurement of orbit elements and a radio telemetric system to transmit back to earth the data on the operation of instruments and scientific equipment.

The onboard equipment is functioning normally.

The coordination computing centre is processing incoming information.

Military

General Comments on Military Service Bill

LD1501111991 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 14 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—"The new bill on universal military duty and military service in the Soviet Union envisages changes in ways of enlisting troops," Major-General Leonid Ivashov of the Soviet Defence Ministry told TASS.

He was speaking in connection with the continued publication of provisions of the bill by the Soviet military press. Ivashov added that the obligatory draft would remain the important, but voluntary enrolment of privates, sailors and non-commissioned officers will be expanded.

"The Defence Ministry has submitted to the Soviet Government a proposal for experimenting with contractual service beginning on January 1, 1991," Ivashov said.

He stressed that the regular draft would change as well. It will be conducted not by the Defence Ministry as before but by the state represented by draft commissions formed by local authorities. These commissions will include public representatives, people's deputies and military commissars.

General Ivashov spoke about draft privileges. Draft reprieve will be granted to persons of draft age with children under three, people's deputies until the expiry of their terms and draftees in whose families per-person income is below the minimum established for their region.

"Any citizen whose natural brother died or was killed while on duty will be exempt from draft," Ivashov said.

He pointed out that the service regime of cadets at higher military schools will also change substantially. They will be considered as regular drafted servicemen during the first two years of studies, after which cadets will be regarded as re-enlisted servicemen or non-commissioned officers. Cadets taking a six-year course of training will be awarded the lowest officer's rank when beginning the last year at school.

The Defence Ministry also considered the order of service for military builders. It has been decided to replace this arm of service with engineering-and-technical units, formed on a contractual basis.

Ivashov said the bill introduces a new arm of service—out-of-the-army (alternative)—for persons whose religious convictions or conscience do not permit them to take up arms.

"This kind of service will last longer than service with the military units and will only exist in peacetime," Ivashov stressed.

Rescue Crew Not Blamed for Submarine Casualties

PM1801092191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 p 2

[Report by V. Kuznetsov: "There Was No Haggling"]

[Text] KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on 17 December 1989 published an interview, headlined "Eight Months Later," given to our correspondent V. Yunisov by Captain First Rank (Reserve) A.N. Gorbachev. It concerned the reasons for the loss of the seamen aboard the Komsomolets nuclear-powered submarine. There were sundry suppositions that the submarine's entire crew could have been rescued if the "Sevryba" Association's supply ship A. Khlobystov had arrived at the scene of the disaster on time. Some people accounted for the delay in its appearing to offer aid by the fact that the leadership of the "Sevryba" BPO [expansion unknown] allegedly conducted talks with the Northern Fleet staff over payment for the rescue operation.

The interview ended with the words: "I nonetheless suggest the following: Let's not engage in mutual recriminations. Let the investigation have its say..."

The investigation has now ended. The Military Prosecutor's Office has concluded that the crew of the supply ship A. Khlobystov took the requisite steps in a timely manner and did all they could to assist the disaster victims.

The Northern Fleet Command announced that it assesses the actions taken by the "Sevryba" leadership and the supply ship A. Khlobystov as timely, efficient, competent, and responsible.

The tale of haggling has been refuted.

Report of 1983 Destroyer 'Mutiny' Dismissed

PM1701090191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Captain First Rank A. Pilipchuk "Rejoinder": "False Rumor From the Baltic: How NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Revealed a 'Mutiny' on the Destroyer Stremitelnyy"]

[Text] An article by Dmitriy Starostin titled "Escape From the USSR" caught people's attention in the January edition of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the third edition of the newspaper. "Today the West is looking with trepidation at a huge country from where floods of emigrants and seekers of fortune are ready to rush," the editorial introduction to the article states. Dmitriy Starostin, predicting the approach of an emigration boom in our country, traced his pen along the land and sea borders of the USSR—where can the political and economic refugees find a loophole? Stopping in particular at the sea border with Sweden, the author affirms out of hand: It was to Sweden that the mutinous destroyer Stremitelnyy tried to go in 1983, but it was intercepted by Soviet assault forces a few miles from the Swedish island of Gotland...

Does this statement correspond to reality? At the request of the editorial office, Captain First Rank Ye. Obydennikov, an officer from one of the Navy directorates, reported:

"The destroyer Stremitelnyy was indeed part of the Baltic Fleet. In 1981, because the ship had completed its operating life, it was placed on the list of floating barracks by a relevant order, and after a certain period of time it was handed over to be used for scrap purposes. Thus the report about the "mutinous" destroyer Stremitelnyy and the "Soviet assault troops" was a fabrication from beginning to end...

Remember, in the first issue of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, which started coming out in December 1990, its chief editor Vitaliy Tretyakov wrote: "So, we are independent because of our desire to inform readers objectively and fully..." This is a promising start on this path!

Baltic Republics

Lithuania

'Massive Roundup' of Vilnius Youth Under Way

LD1701183191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Statement issued on 17 January in Vilnius by Viacaitis, deputy director of the Lithuanian Defense Department—read by announcer]

[Text] At 1530 GMT on 17 January 1991, the military have initiated a massive roundup, by use of force, of young men.

Please be vigilant.

[Signed] Lithuanian Defense Department

Government Statement Cites Soviet Media 'Lies'

LD1701143991 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1346 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] This studio has just received a statement by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania on the false statements about Lithuania being spread in the USSR mass media. First there is a preamble, and then the Government of the Republic of Lithuania declares:

Allegations that Lithuania is split into two opposing camps are lies. In Lithuania there are people who support its independence—people of various nationalities—and a handful of people who are being led from another state. Allegations that there have been violations of human and civil rights in Lithuania are also lies, and they can easily be refuted by international experts. Allegations that the Soviet Armed Forces shot civilians and crushed them with tanks in self-defense are exceptionally bare-faced and shameless lies. The truth will come out, even if the president of the USSR, as he had thought, tries to suspend the operation of the law on the press and tries to separate Lithuania from freedom of speech with tanks and armed paratroopers.

'Pirate' TV Broadcasts Reported

LD1801022391 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2230 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] This evening Lithuanian television began broadcasting from Vilnius. With the television station in Vilnius occupied by the military, the residents of the Lithuanian capital and its environs were deprived of local television programs for four days, as Kaunas television broadcasts are not received in Vilnius.

On the other hand, at 1800 this evening pirate television broadcasts for Vilnius and its environs were begun with the help of the television tower seized by the military. The program compiled by the collaborationists of the Soviet Union's Communist Party and the military in the occupied television building opened with slanderous inventions about the events in Lithuania.

The journalists of independent Lithuania and the television programs broadcast from Kaunas are accused of fomenting ethnic discord. The program's professional standards leave much to be desired. As far as we know, no one from the radio and television staff has agreed to collaborate with the occupiers, so they have to rely upon their own resources.

Lithuanian TV Resumes Programming

LD1701185491 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1655 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] [Announcer] At 1800 [1600 GMT], television channel four carried a National Salvation Committee Program. But our television staff have not been idle, and at 1900 [1700 GMT] Lithuanian television programs will resume on channel ten.

We request you to replace your television receiver collective aerials with portable room aerials.

TASS Observer Regrets Use of Force in Lithuania

LD1701160491 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Commentary by TASS world service observer Andrey Orlov: "Fate of Soviet Perestroika—Time to Choose—Comment"]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Some radicals say events in Lithuania have dealt a mortal blow to progress, to the processes in the Soviet Union that started in February 1985. Is it really so? I hesitate to say yes.

But, it is evident that the roar of tanks in Vilnius streets has echoed throughout the Union, strengthened positions of radical political forces, both right and left, weakened prospects for inter-ethnic and political accord and put perestroyka on the verge of ruin.

The main negative result of the use of force against peaceful civilians is a blow to the emergence of rule-of-law out of the recent totalitarian past. Once again, the spirit and the letter of the law have been sacrificed when political sympathies and emotions burst open.

The roots of the tragedy should be sought in actions by the Lithuanian parliament itself, as it set the example of lawlessness and declared itself independent from the Union with no account of legitimate interests of people who want to remain in it.

But this by no means justifies the use of military force, including tanks, against civilians in the capital of a Union republic. This is especially deplorable, because the Soviet president, a lawyer by education, found it impossible to denounce the actions of the Army as a rude violation of the law. The Army's rush to rescue the self-proclaimed National Salvation Committee from the legitimate power was unlawful, even if that legitimate power had itself violated the Soviet Constitution.

It is no less surprising that the Soviet president, who according to the Constitution, is also commander-in-chief of the country's Armed Forces, has not expressed concern over the fact that the decision to move troops to Vilnius streets was taken by a local military commander and neither he, nor the defence minister were informed about it. The great freedom of actions on the part of the Army is not only frightening, but sets a dangerous precedent during perestroika.

Many observers believe that this is not a precedent, but the logical development of events launched by military actions in Tbilisi and Baku. I hope that advocates of this point of view are mistaken.

Nevertheless, I would like to recall that the use of Army against peaceful demonstrators in Tbilisi seriously strengthened positions of supporters of Georgia's secession from the Soviet Union and centrifugal trends in the country.

Unfortunately, there are no grounds to doubt that this will be exactly repeated in Lithuania. Tanks are hardly the best means of convincing the Baltic republic's population of the expediency to sign a new Union treaty and voting for it during a referendum scheduled for March.

Even if the Army were right, Union republics would have denounced its actions, fearing that something of the kind could happen to them.

The use of force was not duly denounced by the Soviet president and calls in question his attempt to make the USSR Council of the Federation a capable power body. I would like to recall that several hours before the Vilnius tragedy, the council unanimously decided not to use force in Lithuania and search for a way out of the crisis by "political means".

That decision of the country's supreme body was thrown under the tracks of tanks. Now, it is doubtful that republican leaders will trust President Gorbachev, who exerted great efforts to gather them together, in his future work.

I have drawn another conclusion, a minor conlcusion at first glance. Events in Lithuania have split the Soviet mass media. Some of them, from force of habit, are waiting for official opinions from above. Others have hastened to "brand and subvert". The result is that unbiased information has fallen the main victim, although all of us—from the president to a housewife—need it badly.

Another conclusion, much has already been written about it, is that the use of force in Lithuania violated the Soviet Union's obligations before the international community and, together with Shevardnadze's recent resignation (I believe there is a direct link between the events), seriously damaged the prestige of the country and its president abroad. It will be difficult to mend.

Soviet Defense Ministry News Conference

LD1701200191 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent S. Ostanin]

[Text] Vilnius January 17 TASS—A press conference, organised by the Soviet Defence Ministry and the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, was held here today. Soviet and foreign journalists heard an order of the commander of the Vilnius Garrison, which gives an assessment of January developments in Lithuania.

It was stressed at the press conference that the recent tension in the republic had been provoked by the anti-constitutional activities of the Lithuanian parliament. The Garrison Command repeatedly expressed concern over the discriminatory politics of the local authorities with regard to non-Lithuanians, servicemen and their families, and over the ignoring of federal legislation. In these conditions it was logical that the military supported the Lithuanian National Salvation Committee, which supports the Soviet constitution and presidential decrees.

Spokesmen for the Soviet Defence Ministry, the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Military Prosecutor's Office answered numerous questions of journalists.

Vilnius Garrison Holds News Conference

LD1801010191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1730 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Press conference held in the Vilnius Garrison officers' building on 17 January, with the participation of garrison commander Major General Vladimir Nikolayevich Uskhopchik; Juozas Jermalavicius, representative for relations with the National Salvation Committee; Lieutenant Colonel Ushenin, Vilnius garrison military procurator; and "many others"; participants are not identified—recorded in Russian]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified speaker] [words indistinct] I will try to speak sufficiently clearly through the microphone. The Army was brought in line with the decision of the Ministry of Defense to assist in the implementation of the appeal within the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces. These measures were called upon by those conditions which arose in the republic beginning 11 March 1990. Earlier, in Lithuania, as in the other Baltic republics, such problems were not present. These problems were created by all the leadership, which came to the republic as a result of the events well known to you.

The daily dispatch, called upon in these days, is made up from 60-100 or more persons. In the order of 38 percent and more are the local inhabitants, young people of Lithuanian nationality. [passage omitted]

Among the most dangerous and unconstitutional acts adopted by the Supreme Council of Lithuania was the decision of the Supreme Council of Lithuania on the invalidity of the law of the USSR on comprehensive military duty from 12 October 1967. In spite of the many public demonstrations and announcements of the personnel division of the garrison to the Government of Lithuania on political and moral damage all these acts bring about, and also our request to end it discrimination of the Russian ethnic population and families of servicemen, these (?acts) not only continued but also increased [words indistinct]. In the Supreme Council of Lithuania misinformation was voiced in relation to [words indistinct] the president of the USSR, the Communist Party of Lithuania, the CPSU, and the armed forces of the USSR. It is thus completely natural that the healthy forces of Lithuania, worried about such a tension, formed a national organisation, the aim of which is to prevent a catastrophe in the republic. On nine January 1991 a meeting was held in Vilnius of over 35,000 progressive forces of Lithuania. [passage omitted]

In the following days the Supreme Council and Government of Lithuania failed to take any measures to remove the tension, but the contrary [words indistinct] organized thousands of workers on the streets of the capital. The Committee for National Salvation of Lithuania made an appeal to the Supreme Soviet, which sent its representatives to study documents. [words indistinct] however, the television called on the people to go onto the streets and destroy the Communists. As a result, the Committee for National Salvation of Lithuania appealed to the head of the local garrison for assistance. [Words indistinct] decision to provide assistance to the workers, and to take control of television and radio with the aim of warning against and ending provocative actions. All these [words indistinct] this pure provocation. [laughter from floor] The Army does not order; it has orders not to fire first, only to answer to firing [words indistinct] [passage omitted]

The people did not try to live under a tank or on a tank, and behaved themselves in a reasonably disciplined way in this situation. After each stop the tanks moved off only after giving a hand signal. One of the officers said: During a stop at the crossroad I saw a large number of people from my tank. A large number of flashes from the photojournalists. This is how he writes: Later, the paratroopers told me that one of the citizens placed one of his legs under the tracks of my tank, and this was photographed. [passage omitted]

Recently, I think on the 15th, the republican newspapers published an interview with a doctor, who stated that the bullet wounds received by these people, with whose deaths we are also (?outraged), were received by bullets from weapons of different calibers. In the Army, the section in which the armed officers participated who had guns, the soldiers do not have the 545 weapon with [word indistinct] caliber. The people were (?fired on) with bullets of different calibers. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified speaker] [Word indistinct] What kind of misinformation is it that paratroopers from Kaunus and [words indistinct] refused to participate in fighting [words indistinct].

[Unidentified speaker] The incidents of refusal to fulfill orders in the course of this year in the Armed Forces, particularly during the implementation of tasks in optimal situations have occured [words indistinct] in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and other places. In Lithuania [words indistinct] such incidents are not known to me.

[Unidentified speaker] There are rumors that today, at 2100, military operations will be carried out in Vilnius aimed at taking control of the most important sites. Can you confirm this?

[Unidentified speaker] I think that this question should be directed to those who spread such rumors. [words indistinct]

[Unidentified speaker] You do not have to pressurize us. If you want an answer, I will give you an answer. We have a decision of the Committee for National Salvation on controlling the functioning of radio and television. Those who want to familiarize themselves with the documents, and want to meet the head of the garrison, can make us such a request, and we will organize such a meeting.

[Unidentified speaker] If this person could give the names of this Committee for National Salvation, could he not as a general with great powers in the Soviet Army, provide the personal security of these people? This person told us that the lives of these people are threatened if they are named.

[Unidentified speaker] Thank you. I understood you. I will answer your question. It is known to us that in the Supreme Council, a committee for [word indistinct] has been formed, which also does not rush to name those who passed death sentences on the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, including the leadership of the Committee for National Salvation. I think it is understandable that due to such reasons we are not naming today the leadership of the members of the Committee for National Salvation.

[Unidentified speaker] What do you think [words indistinct] adopt a decision of an unknown Committee of People? Military man, you think that people...

[Unidentified speaker interrupts] As a military man I cannot adopt a decision for the Lithuanian people, for its people, the people of the republic of Lithuania. We are talking of a specific incident.

[Unidentified speaker] [words indistinct] What is known to us is that tension in Latvia has increased, and also in other Baltic republics. [shouting]

[Unidentified speaker] The question is this—I want to repeat it. Is there a guarantee that no military action will be taken against the building of the Supreme Council?

[Unidentified speaker] What I will try ... [pauses] You talk of guarantees that no attempt will be made in taking the military... [voices from the floor] military actions against the building of the Supreme Council.

[Unidentified speaker] I think that military [corrects himself] The Supreme Council of Lithuania [words indistinct] that we simply do not wish to go there. [voices from floor] I think that such actions will not be taken. Thus there should be no question of military interference with respect to the Supreme Council until the people of Lithuania find it necessary.

[Unidentified speaker] Who will give the guarantee? If a guarantee...[shouting from floor] the clear escalation of military force in other Baltic republics. I present the question because if... [shouting from floor]

[Unidentified speaker] I question according to [words indistinct] law does an organization, political and public, illegal, not registered, have the right to announce a curfew? According to what is written here in the materials of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, it states: the Committee for National Salvation of Lithuania carried out a curfew at 0700 on 13 January. I ask, according to Soviet law, do organizations have the right to announce a curfew? I am not asking from the stance of the military. A curfew is carried out by a state organ which has been given this right. [shouts of approval] I have not acquainted myself with these documents, and thus I cannot comment on them. [shouts demanding an answer] According to specific documents. Quite. It is written in the document, it is signed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. [Words indistinct] It is written that with our decision the Committee for National Salvation of Lithuania carried out a curfew at 0700 on 19 January 1991. It is noted...[shouts from floor] I ask according to a specific document. Can I ask you, according to the answer received [words indistinct] if the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania is lying?

[Unidentified speaker] Information has been spread that a decision was made by the Committee for National Salvation of Lithuania.

[Unidentified speaker] I can confirm that the decision of the committee for National Salvation of Lithuania of 12 January was adopted [words indistinct] which were received from the press center. This is a copy. This is well-known to everyone. But in the first place [word indistinct] but paper. [laughter from floor]

[Unidentified speaker] I am a deputy of the Vilnius Council. I want to say that the [word indistinct] gave inaccurate information on the contacts [word indistinct] ago. As a deputy of the Vilnius Council I told a group of deputies of the city of Vilnius that I met with the leadership of the Vilnius garrison. [passage omitted] We proposed discussing questions on the political (?situation) in Lithuania, in Vilnius. They told us that we should not interfere with the work of the Army. Today, order No. three, which has been announced; this is in fact the question on politics. We then proposed to meet with the servicemen. We were told that we had nothing to do with the Army. Only today, comrade, did such questions arise. At the storming of the tower, other than Lithuanians, three to four people, were 15 non-Lithuanians. Thank you for your attention.

Garrison Commander on Sajudis Armed Units

LD1701112791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Vilnius, 17 Jan (TASS)—Last night passed quietly in Vilnius, and external signs of tension in the city are not visible. At the same time, according to Major General Vladimir Uskhopchik, head of Vilnius Garrison, "the situation in the capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic remains extremely tense."

The general says the military formations illegally set up by the "Sajudis" nationalist movement contain "thousands of people" who are armed with various weapons systems, including some of Western manufacture. At all exits from Vilnius, the head of the garrison reported, "checkpoints have been set up, to check vehicles for weapons, ammunition, and explosives."

Gen. Uskhopchik told correspondents yesterday that the Government and Armed Forces of the USSR were seeking ways "of somehow defusing the situation." The aim of the efforts being undertaken is to ensure order in the city and prevent sharp confrontationa among the population. "If these questions are not resolved," the general stressed, "no one will resolve anything here."

At the same time, according to reports from the Lithuanian city of Siauliai, patrols have begun there by the so-called "special detachment No. 13," set up by the Department of Defense of the Country and comprising young men from the "Young Lithuanians" organization, who openly demonstrate that they carry weapons. In the City of Kaunas radio and television continue to carry continual appeals to the population to display resistance to the "occupation forces," declaring Communists to be "bandits and murderers."

The news agency of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has received information from Trakai that "supporters of 'Sajudis' have taken an orphans' bus from the children's home for picketing the television tower in Vilnius."

Vytautas Landsbergis reported at the evening session of the Lithuanian legislature that the leadership of Lithuania and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] "intend to hold preliminary consultations before taking any steps." Agreement on this was reached in the course of a telephone conversation between Landsbergis and Boris Gromov, first deputy minister of the USSR MVD. The chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet said that "his contacts with the leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry and the command of Vilnius garrison are continuing." He denied rumors "of the movement of troops in the direction of Vilnius," describing them as "unfounded."

Yesterday evening a spokesman for the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry denied reports appearing in the mass news media claiming that the permanent representative of the republic in Moscow had been recalled. The status of the permanent mission is not being changed, he stresserd in a statement to a TASS correspondent.

The representatives of the USSR military and of the Lithuanians, accountable to the Lithuanian leadership, have gone far to meet each other half-way. They have set up a joint group to examine the television tower and television center, where the tragic events took place on the night of 13 January. But, the TASS correspondents were told by Viktor Strelnikov, head of the group of experts from the USSR and assistant to the country's procurator general, they have not managed to achieve complete cooperation with their Lithuanian counterparts. Thus they met with a refusal from the deputy chief physician of the Vilnius Municipal Red Cross Hospital to provide the information needed by the group.

Today it was learned that the airborne regiment stationed in Vilnius had adopted a message to Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, accusing him of "not knowing the situation in the Baltic region and not knowing the wishes of the ordinary people." We are loyal to the president of the USSR and want a united Soviet Union. Not one paratrooper believes you," the message stresses.

Sajudis Denies Uskhopchik Claim

LD1701144991 Berlin ADN in German 1214 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—The Lithuanian popular movement Sajudis has dismissed as "pure fantasy" the claim of the commander of the Soviet garrison [in Vilnius], Major General Vladimir Uskhopchik, that it is creating paramilitary formations. The secretary of the movement, Andrius Kubilus, told the Moscow ADN correspondent in Vilnius that such "imputations" are a part of the scenario of the military, in order to make an excuse to the public for imposing a state of emergency on Lithuania.

Such accusations by the military against the people's movements had also been made at the time prior to the imposition of the state of emergency in the Azerbaijani capital, Baku, and in 1981 in Poland. Some of the weapons now being shown on Soviet national television as alleged property of the Sajudis were hunting rifles which had been confiscated by Soviet paratroopers during the storming of the Lithuanian Hunters' Association building. [passage omitted]

No Guarantee Against Council Building Attack

AU1701162191 Paris AFP in English 1606 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius, Lithuania, Jan 17 (AFP)—A Soviet general Thursday refused to provide guarantees that the heavily-fortified parliament in the Lithuanian capital would not be attacked.

At a news conference here, General Yuriy Nauman, a member of a Soviet Defence Ministry delegation sent here after Sunday's army assault on the television tower declined to give assurances when pressed about guarantees.

He said instead, "I think the parliament is so well protected that the soldiers don't want to attack it."

The parliament has been turned into a fortress in the last two days, with double tank traps excavated along one side of the building. Sandbags have been stocked behind windows, and weapons have been arriving at a steady pace.

The pro-independence government has feared an attack on the parliament since Sunday's assault, when 14 people were killed and 163 injured in the army's bid to crush the nationalist authorities.

Earlier Thursday in Moscow, deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belogonov rejected suggestions that the Gulf war provided an opportunity to crack down in the Baltic states.

He told reporters the Baltic situation had "nothing to do with the Gulf crisis... no connection whatsoever."

Tomsk Deputy Blames Gorbachev for Vilnius Events

LD1701182291 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1458 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Speech by unidentified Tomsk deputy at a Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] I am a deputy from Tomsk City. I represent the Interregional Deputies' Group, a legislative group in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. [passage omitted]

We have been to the television tower, and looked all over it. We chatted with representatives of the National Salvation Committee, as they call themselves, and with paratroopers. We visited the Television and Radio Committee and the Press House, where we also chatted with the paratroopers and representatives of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee-CPSU platform. Finally, I visited the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and talked with Professor Jermolavicius.

These numerous meetings allowed me to make the assertion that there is a large-scale, planned action in Lithuania, the leadership and coordination of which is conducted not here, but in the center, in Moscow. [passage omitted]

The assertion by Defense Minister Yazov, and Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo that the control functions were at the level of the chief of Vilnius Garrison, are refuted, in connection with the fact that troops of the USSR MVD—who are subordinate not to the chief of Vilnius Garrison, and paratroopers brought here quite recently to carry out functions of recruitment, and which also have nothing to do with the Vilnius Garrison—took part in the actions. What is more, according to evidence by servicemen, the Vilnius Garrison does not have the numbers and staff to carry out such large-scale operations. [passage omitted] There is also evidence—from a source which it is not possible to disclose—that these actions were most probably led by the KGB. [passage omitted]

Responsibility for these actions undoubtedly lies with the USSR president, and I want to say this out loud. We must understand that this regime, which has exposed itself by what happened in Lithuania, will stop at nothing. You, esteemed deputies, should understand that in the republic, following the failure of the blitzkrieg, a duopoly system is being formed not only in Vilnius, but also locally. There are efforts directed at setting regional centers of National Salvation Committees to structure themselves vertically and horizontally. Then at a given moment, a statement can be made that power exists in Lithuania; help from the Armed Forces will be requested, not only in Vilnius, as has just happened, but throughout Lithuania. Then a coup can take place. [passage omitted] [applause]

Poland's Kuron Addresses Supreme Council

LD1701175991 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1304 GMT 17 jan 91

[Speech by Jacek Kuron, Polish minister of labor and social policy, at a Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live, Kuron speaks in Polish with superimposed Lithuanian translation]

[Text] Brothers! We too are a small and weak country, and we cannot threaten the great power which is threatening you. But we can be with you. The heart of Lithuania (?beats) here.

Do you know, ladies and gentlemen, if you were not here, this whole Lithuanian issue could be dealt with as an internal Soviet matter. But you have said: First we will have to be killed—and this has now become a matter for the whole world. So we said to ourselves: We are with you. Since Sunday, our deputies arrived here, and are with you night and day—they have just held a Senate session—and we will be with you as long as it will be necessary. If the need arises to die, we will die with you, so that it may also be against us. [applause]

Thank you very much. [applause]

Vagnorius Discusses Government Program

LD1801045191 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Report on interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius by unidentified interviewer; place and date not given]

[Text] Every evening, we report about the work of the legitimate Government of Lithuania. As you may know, it is led by MP [member of parliament] Gediminas Vagnorius, who is an economist by profession. He was elected to this post quite unexpectedly last Sunday [13 January] early in the morning due to a number of circumstances. Gediminas Vagnorius was an outspoken opponent of Prunskiene's cabinet. He is prepared to take a determined stand in switching the Lithuanian economy to a market-oriented one. The second goal is to reduce Lithuania's economic independence on the Soviet Union to an absolute minimum. Mr. Vagnorius stresses that his future action program can be termed one which (?is opposed to the) former government.

As a parliamentarian, he worked productively in the commission on economic affairs. On becoming Lithuania's prime minister at this critical moment, Gediminas Vagnorius does not think that it complicates in any way the work of the government. I can only regret the fact, he said, that I could not start my term of office on the most important issue of reforming the economy. Instead, Mr. Vagnorious said, I am busy trying to solve matters of a military and political character.

Asked whether this means that the economic issues have been pushed into the background for the time being, Gediminas Vagnorius said:

[Begin Vagnorius recording in Lithuanian with superimnposed English translation] I do not in any way (?want to state) that economic issues are not being resolved at the moment. However, we are not engaged in dealing with matters that a normal state is involved in at a time of peace. At present, we are working on such issues as trade, finances, prices, and so on. Yet the solution of these issues are different from what they would be under normal conditions. Anyhow, apart from the political and military issues that we are dealing with at the moment, our main task is to guarantee the normal functioning of the entire economy.

Saudargas: 'Military Junta' Ordered Actions

AU1701154191 Berlin DER MORGEN in German 16 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas by Petr Skalski; place and date not given: "Moscow's Military Junta Controlled Army Action in Vilnius"]

[Text] [Skalski] You are in Poland to form a government in exile if the Lithuanian Government is overthrown. Are you already fulfilling this task?

[Saudargas] At the moment I do not want to discuss the formation of a government in exile. Even though I have corresponding authorization by the legislature, as long as the legitimate political organs of Lithuania are still working, I do not see any need for action. I rather consider myself the coordinator of relief measures for the Lithuanian people.

[Skalski] Why did you come to Poland?

[Saudargas] Pure coincidence. At the first session of the new Lithuanian Government I was asked to go abroad to form a government in exile in the event of an emergency. When I left Vilnius I did not yet know where to go. Since developments escalated very quickly, I did not have much time for a long trip. Furthermore, the Poles treated me very cordially and assured me of their support.

[Skalski] How do you assess the situation in Vilnius? Is it a positive sign that Moscow's troops did not storm the legislature building?

[Saudargas] The situation is still very confused. Everything can change from one hour to the next. The only thing that is certain is that Gorbachev is no longer in control of the situation in the USSR. Gorbachev must take responsibility for those killed in Vilnius. Otherwise he is a criminal and must resign.

[Skalski] Do you think that the Army in Lithuania acted without Gorbachev's knowledge and approval?

[Saudargas] The actions of the military were controlled by Moscow, by a military junta. All details of the action were prepared. Putting the responsibility on the local authorities is a deliberate cover up by those pulling the strings. In Kaunas, for example, there was an agreement between the garrison and the authorities there that there would be no shooting. Suddenly the soldiers had quite different orders and no one knew where they came from.

[Skalski] Which consequences will these events have on developments in the USSR?

[Saudargas] I think that the Army leadership and the secret service have shown that they are in the process of reestablishing their power in the USSR. In such a large country that must not necessarily have an effect on the state's top leaders. The possibilities of influence at the local level are much more decisive.

[Skalski] Lithuania was, so to speak, the beginning of this advance.

[Saudargas] This is logical. Lithuania was the first republic, that decisively advocated independence from Moscow. In Moscow they wanted to set an example in order to deter the other independence movements. Stalinist terrorism, which has never been punished, has reawakened. But the Kremlin will miscalculate. Lithuania will now pursue its path toward independence with even greater determination.

[Skalski] The West, in particular the Germans, were enthusiastic about Gorbachev, they admired him....

[Saudargas] They may stay enthusiastic about him. Soon there will not be any Gorbachev anymore. Gorbachev is fiction!

Report on 13 Jan Saugardas News Conference

AU1501135191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Jan 91 p 9

[Stanislaw Grzymski report: "Stalinism Still Alive—Algirdas Saugardas on the Events in Lithuania"]

[Text] Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saugardas, the only member of the Lithuanian Government abroad, said at a news conference in Warsaw on Sunday that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has placed him under an obligation to set up a government in exile if the Lithuanian cabinet and government are unable to fulfill their functions for any reason. Answering questions from journalists, he explained that the question of Polish help in setting up such a government was not considered.

Speaking about the military intervention, he stressed that Lithuania has never witnessed such brutality by the Soviet Army since Stalin. Defenseless people were fired upon. Of the 13 people killed, five had been identified by 0800 on Sunday. They are young people born in the 1960's. The minister said he had also received a report from the Lithuanian Office of Control that the intervening forces dressed some of the dead people in military uniforms so as to show that soldiers had also been killed.

Minister Saugardas said that Lithuania was the first republic to experience Moscow's force because Lithuania's stance is more determined than that of the other Baltic republics. He added that in a situation where defenseless people are being shot at, the Lithuanian government and society would consider such proposals as a referendum on seceding from the USSR as immoral. Deputy Czeslaw Okinczyc added: "Lithuania will never take part in a referendum on seceding from the USSR. It will only consider the question of joining the USSR."

Asked about the possibility of Lithuanian armed resistance, the minister said he cannot imagine a situation where unarmed people face armed forces, but if the brutality carried on and the blood of defenseless people continues to flow, then "anything is possible in Lithuania."

Asked whether the events in Lithuania are a repetition of the situation in Hungary in 1956, the Lithuanian chief of diplomacy said that Lithuania does not need such a repetition. After the end of World War II, Lithuania continued to fight a partisan war for another 10 years, and after long years of opposition it has now settled down to a democratic and peaceful construction of the state. This process has now been interrupted, and no one knows what kind of process is beginning, he said.

Minister Saugardas voiced reservations about international diplomatic reactions to the events in Vilnius. "A world that applauded democracy when Lithuania headed this democracy on the territory of the Soviet empire is now watching with indifference how this democracy is being massacred. If it is suppressed, I doubt if anyone in the West will have the right to utter the word democracy." The minister said that the Western states have already sacrificed Lithuania for the sake of peace and quiet in Europe, adding that such powers as the United States are too preoccupied with the Persian Gulf right now.

Lithuania is determined to fight to the very end, even if it has to do so on its own. In fact, it is on its own," he said.

Speaking about the reaction of Lithuanian Poles to the events, Deputy Czeslaw Okinczyc, who was accompanying the minister, stressed that they behaved decently in this difficult situation. One example of the energetic attitude of the Poles, is the minister's arrival in Poland on the instructions of President Vytautas Landsbergis, with the task of conducting all affairs on behalf of the Lithuanian president and legislature. The Polish faction of the Lithuanian legislature has adopted an appeal to their compatriots and all the inhabitants of Lithuania, which reads:

"Let us forget that which divides us. Let us forgive those who did not always wish to understand us. Let us now seek what has united us and will unite us—opposition to diktat from a position of strength, and a common aim toward freedom, democracy, and independence."

Minister Saugardas expressed gratitude to Polish society and the Polish Government for the idea of helping the Lithuanian people. He also expressed hope that the Polish Government would recognize an independent Lithuanian state.

The minister warned against Stalinism many times, saying that the drama of last night shows that Stalinism is still alive and that atrocities that have gone unpunished may be revived. "No one is safe from that, not even naive Western countries that award the Nobel peace prize to murderers."

No Paratroopers Lost, 'No Deserters' Reported

PM1701164091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report from "Rumors and Facts" feature by N. Burbyga and V. Litovkin: "No Losses Among the Paratroopers"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA No. 13 published a report to the effect that paratrooper Lieutenant Viktor Shitnovich was killed during the storming of the Vilnius television center. Our correspondent was given this information by Major General of Justice V. Kupets, military prosecutor of the Baltic Military District. But....

We called Lieutenant General Ye. Podkolzin, chief of staff of the Airborne Troops. What he said was totally unexpected: There have been no losses among the paratroopers! Only company commander Captain Gavrilov suffered a slight wound to the leg.... The general also refuted a report published in many of the mass media to the effect that 15 paratroopers had supposedly refused to participate in military operations and are now "on the run."

"All our people are where they should be. There are no deserters," Podkolzin said in conclusion.

To avoid further inaccuracies, we decided to contact the USSR Defense Ministry press center. A new surprise was in store for us there: It seems there is no lieutenant of that name in the USSR Armed Forces. We checked: Nor is he on the personnel lists of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops....

"We did indeed have some officers killed recently," Major General A. Griyenko, chief of the Internal Troops Political Directorate, told us, "but it happened in the Transcaucasus. As for Vilnius, the Internal Troops did not carry out active operations there, they were on guard duty. And there are no losses among the internal troops servicemen."

So under whose auspices was he in Vilnius, this lieutenant who was killed?

We called the USSR KGB public relations center. They told us that they cannot yet say definitely whether the lieutenant was serving in their units, since the personnel staff have not yet managed to thoroughly look into everyone posted to the committee. Eventually, on 17 January the editorial office received a call from Maj. Gen. of Justice V. Kupets, military prosecutor of the Baltic Military District. He asked us to convey his sincerest apologies to the parents and friends of the dead man and to the newspaper's readers. The editorial office, for its part, also offers sincere apologies. The real name of the dead man is not Shitnovich, but Viktor Viktorovich Shatskikh. He was born in 1969, was a platoon commander, according to the military prosecutor's office, and belonged to the Pskov Airborne Division.

We had to contact the Army and the MVD again. Shatskikh is not on their lists either. We called the KGB again. Again, the answer came: Wait... For the time being, we cannot say which forces Viktor Shatskikh was serving in.

Garrison Medical Service on Losses

LD1701120291 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Vilnius January 17 TASS—One soldier was killed and two wounded when Soviet troops moved in to restore order in Vilnius, the city's garrison medical service chief told TASS.

"Unfortunately, there were victims among servicemen. One was killed and two wounded," Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Shparuta said.

"Both are now treated at a military hospital. I want to stress that only high professional skills enabled paratroopers to avoid heavy losses in the extreme situation," he said.

"As always military medics worked quickly in close contact with civilian medical staff. I wish we had less work. Direct confrontation should be avoided when peaceful means have not been exhausted," he said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Reports Victims

PM1501165391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondents Colonel V. Gavrilenko and Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik under general heading: "Lithuania, the Pinnacle of Tension"]

[Text] Sunday morning was perhaps the most tense and dramatic time in Vilnius since 7 January. One section of people who had assembled in Independence Square, outside the republic Supreme Soviet building, was keeping mournfully silent, listening to V. Landsbergis' address through a loudspeaker about the three-day mourning and the call for a general strike. The other section was continuing to demand the dissolution of parliament and the introduction of presidential rule in the republic. Split in two irreconcilable camps, people can only hear and are only listening to those on their own side. At times the positions occupied are extreme and uncompromising....

The epilogue to this sharp confrontation, as is already known, occurred when workers volunteer detachments together with the military took the Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee under their protection on the night of 18 January, involving sharp clashes between those gathered and the use of weapons. The details of this dramatic night are still not yet known with any accuracy and a great deal is unclear and controversial.

Major General V. Uskhopchik, chief of the Vilnius Garrison, said that, according to eyewitnesses who were not just servicemen but also Lithuanian civilians, thugs firing from the top stories of the buildings opposite the television and radio center were the first to open fire on the soldiers in the garrison subunit on duty and the volunteer detachment members. And it was a shot fired by them that killed a young officer, hitting him in the back. This led to the use of weapons.

It became known that 70 rifles, 37,000 cartridges, lists of addresses of Soviet aktiv members, Communists, officers from the Soviet Army, the KGB, and the republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and instructions to seize and eliminate them were confiscated from premises belonging to the Territorial Defense Department.

Lithuanian Health Minister Yu. Olekas stated that day on republican radio that 13 persons died in the square outside the television center, and two of them died in hospital as a result of injuries received. A total of 112 persons were injured. However, the health minister essentially avoided answering a question put to him by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent about the way of ascertaining whose bullets, the thugs' or the military's, were responsible for the deaths. He only said that this does not come under his authority and that A. Petrauskas, the republic prosecutor, will now investigate the circumstances of the case. The garrison military prosecutor's office has started its own investigation into this.

In this complex situation, with the aim of maintaining order, the Committee for National Salvation appealed to the chief of Vilnius Garrison to introduce a curfew in the capital. A curfew has been operating in Vilnius since 2200 hours 13 January.

A delegation from the USSR Council of the Federation arrived in the capital of Lithuania 13 January. It comprises B. Oleynik, L. Ter-Petrosyan, and N. Dementey. On the same day, the members of the delegation toured the "burning" areas of the city, and met with A. Naudzhyunas, member of the Lithuanian Committee for National Salvation and secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and Professor Yu. Yermalavichyus, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. Then the members of the delegation had a meeting in the republic Supreme Soviet with V. Landsbergis, who expounded his viewpoint on the situation in Lithuania.

Perhaps the longest meeting that day was the one between the members of the delegation and the Vilnius Garrison command and members of servicemen's families. Major General V. Uskhopchik, chief of the garrison, Colonel V. Smokarev, chief of the garrison political section, and other generals and officers, spoke in detail about the tense situation in the capital, which has been especially inflamed after the arrival in Vilnius of subunits of assault troops aiming to implement the USSR presidential decree dated 1 December 1990. They dwelt on the anticonstitutional activity of the republic legislature and government, which is at odds with the USSR Constitution and the Law "On Compulsory Military Service." For example, the republic press published statements about the "Shchit" [Shield] operation carried out by "Lithuanian combat structures" in December of last year, one of whose main aims was the rehearsal of actions to protect state institutions in the event of a "possible military coup." Instructions to deserters who had left their units as well as young men evading the draft for active military service were repeatedly announced on the radio.

"The whipping up of hysteria in the press, on the radio, and on television with respect to our soldiers and officers and members of their families, which was given a 'legal basis' by the republic parliament, also led to sharp dissatisfaction among part of the population, and not just the Russian-speaking population, and to sharp confrontation," Irina Valeryevna Dvorina, an officer's wife, said on behalf of the garrison's women. "And this in turn had an effect on the well-being of the servicemen and their families. In our garrison there are 657 officers and warrant officers without apartments, many of them have even been refused a temporary residence permit, their families are taking shelter in barracks constructed from huts, in the premises of Lenin Rooms, medical institutions, and even the unit's museum of military glory."

In the interval between meetings, we asked members of the delegation from the USSR Council of the Federation to briefly share their first impressions of what they had seen and heard.

"Our delegation came with the aim of establishing calm and peace in the republic," V. Oleynik, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, said. "From what I managed to hear and see today, I realized that the majority of the population, including the military, are reacting with bitter understanding to the prevailing critical situation in the capital and are aware of the whole tragedy of further confrontation which may lead (and has already done so) to irreparable consequences."

The opinion of L. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet: If the sides really and sincerely want there to be no repetition of what has already happened, then it is important to use all possible methods now to seek ways toward mutual understanding, a truce, and to calm down thousands of people who have come out in the streets....

Yes indeed, in order to cool the heat of tension in the republic, calm is needed, and nothing more. The whole of the Lithuanian population, every Lithuanian, Pole, and Russian should not only hear the people on their side, but should also listen to the voice of reason.

A state commission for the funeral of those who were killed was formed in the Lithuanian legislature. It is headed by deputy Z. Vaisvila. The funeral will take place 16 January. He also cited the following figures when he spoke at the commission's sitting: There are 43 injured persons in hospital; of these 26 are in a serious condition; 14 persons were killed including Lieutenant V. Shatskikh.

As for Prime Minister A. Simenas, he went home to his family while the sitting was in progress. As he stated, in connection with the fact that he was worried about the safety of his relatives. After a lengthy quest, legislature elected a new premier—34-year old Gedeminas Vagnorius, an economist by education. Simenas is now not working.

Let us note that not a single newspaper appeared in the last few days in Vilnius. All the information came from a single Central Television channel and the underground radio station's broadcasts.

Workers Disavow National Salvation Committee

LD1701114891 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 0841 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we shall familiarize you with a statement and protest prepared by the workforce of the Vilnius Radio Measurement Instruments Works. A brief explanation for those who do not know: According to initial reports, it was precisely at this enterprise that the National Salvation Committee was based, although the director of this enterprise, Oktyabr Burdenko, subsequently stated that this was not entirely accurate information. And so, the text of the statement:

We, the staff of the Vilnius Radio Measurement Instrument Works, categorically protest the participation of troops in the seizure of civilian institutions in Lithuania. We also declare that we know nothing about the so-called National Salvation Committee. It was not elected by us, and it does not represent our interests. [passage omitted]

We express our political and human lack of confidence in the general director of the association, Oktyabr Burdenko, and the secretary of the party committee of the CPSU, (Daskal), who have taken a direct and active part in the political provocation and the whipping up of tension at enterprises in the republic as a whole.

There are 111 signatures under this protest letter from workers of various nationalities—Lithuanians, Poles, Belorussians, Jews. The statement also had 48 other signatures from people of various nationalities.

TRUD Reports Kaunas Radio Broadcasting

PM1501145591

[Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 January 1991 carries on page three under the general heading "Lithuania: Stormy Days and Nights" a 900-word Vilnius report by correspondent G. Konchyus, who describes how he watched his television screen go blank after troops had stormed the Lithuanian radio and television building, mentions eyewitness accounts of the dead and wounded at the building, and reports the Lithuanian deputies' resolution on the operation of a Lithuanian government in exile if it can no longer operate in Lithuania and on the appointment of G. Vagnorius as prime minister. The report continues:

"At that time Kaunas Radio was continuing to operate. Its transmissions were broadcast on the air and over radio relay lines. It broadcast reports on the work of the Supreme Soviet and the tragic events in Vilnius, information from various regions of the republic, and statements by a number of local soviets of their loyalty to the republican leadership. Intercity telephone lines continued to operate.

"From early morning on Sunday until the evening a high-power radio station was operating on almost the same wavelength as Kaunas radio, transmitting music and regularly repeating the announcement of the Lithuanian National Salvation Committee that a curfew had been introduced in Vilnius and that meetings, demonstrations, the use of loudspeakers and duplicators and so forth had been banned. It was also reported that Major General V. Uskhopchik has been appointed the city's commandant. This station did not transmit other information. So that Lithuanian inhabitants only learned of the TASS official version on Sunday evening from Central Television programs. The Vilnius publishing house and printing plant, which have been returned to the Communist Party, are not operating."

The report then describes the agreement to disband the guards outside the Supreme Soviet and to remove the military patrols, mentions the mourning of the dead, and notes that the situation remains calm in Vilnius and elsewhere in Lithuania.

DXer on State of Lithuanian Broadcasting

LD1701164591 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] What are the Lithuanian DXers concerned about now? Here is Rimantas Pleikys, journalist and DXer:

[Pleikys, in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] It seems to be a horrible coincidence. The iron fist of the Soviet military aggression struck the heaviest blow on these buildings and offices in Vilnius which I used to frequent most often; the TV tower, the press house, the radio and television center.

On 15 January we had plans to start broadcasts of a new FM radio station called Radijo Centras. The idea had been born to our joint stock company of (?entertainers) [words indistinct] Regrettably, we could not translate our plans into reality. Paratroopers took over the Press House and our studio, and all our equipment ready for work are now inaccessible to us on the 17th floor of the Soviet-occupied Press House.

From that studio we had been broadcasting for almost a year programs of the first nongovernmental radio station in Lithuania. (?and why)? Now it is more than probable that all the equipment there is either broken or looted because we have evidence on how savagely the radio and TV station was plundered. In the TV tower there were four TV and six FM transmitters. Will any of these be suitable for operation after the paratroopers withdraw? Only God knows. There is a radio station at [word indistinct] near Kaunas. From a tiny station there news was sent to Europe in the early hours of 13 January telling listeners of the tragedy that befell Lithuania. The 500 KW transmitter for the second program of the Lithuanian radio, as well as a shortwave transmitter working at the 6100 and 9710 kHz frequencies. The station at Siskunai is still in danger so crowds of peaceful civilians stand guard outside the station day and night.

The aggressors are at large not only in the streets with tanks and Kalashnikovs but also on the air. The pirate radio station of the pro-Unionists, "Soviet Lithuania," was founded a few months ago, and broadcasting from a military base on the 864 kHz frequency. On the day of the massacre they changed the frequency to 660 kHz, especially moving closer to the 666 kHz frequency of Radio Vilnius and the first program of the Lithuanian radio.

The Communist aggressors and their collaborators should expect that the people of Lithuania going through the dial would chance upon their station and would listen to the propaganda promises and threats read by them. But the hopes of the occupiers are futile.

And there is a piece of good news to roundup with. Today the Latvian radio began broadcasts in the Lithuanian language. The programs are short, only 10 minutes long, but they can be heard on the medium-and shortwave.

Students Told To Ignore 'Disinformation'

LD1701172391 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1655 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] We inform you that an announcement has been made on the public address system that students should gather to guard the inter-city telephone exchange. This is disinformation. We ask the students not to approach the telephone exchange.

Moscow TV Notes Continued 'Attacks' on Communists

LD1701214691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Minayev in Vilnius, from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Last night in Vilnius passed peacefully in general. Fortunately, there were no incidents. The curfew in the city has been suspended. In the streets and squares there are no visible signs of tanks, armored vehicles or military patrols. Public and rail transport systems are functioning and there are regular train services. There have not been any power cuts by the Ignalina Nuclear Electric Power Station.

Nevertheless, the situation remains tense and explosive. Alarming reports are still streaming in. Here are some of them. Siauliai Street is being patrolled by a so-called special purpose squad set up by the department for the protection of the area. Kaunas Radio is transmitting appeals to continue the picketing of the television and radio committee in Vilnius.

The studios in the Vilnius Television Center have resumed broadcasting. What is not new is that attacks continue on Communists, all those who have not lost faith in the rectitude of the socialist future and who dare to have opinions which do not coincide with the viewpoint of the republic's legislature and its chairman. The central press, television, and radio also get their share. The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has made a statement accusing the USSR's information media of allegedly misinforming people about the situation in the republic.

The statements are quite definite. I quote: TASS and other USSR information media which distort the truth have become a vile weapon in the hands of the criminal forces. Powerfully expressed, is it not, though no instances of disinformation have been cited by the statement. The Army still remains the main object of hatred. New plaques slurring it emerge every day.

It is impossible to drive up to the republic building. Barricades have thoroughly sealed off all roads leading to it. Those who are on duty here round the clock are gradually settling into their daily routines. Even mobile kitchens have been brought into operation.

What are these signs of hostility and confrontation for? They are in case of siege or attack. Vilnius is buzzing with rumors about the intention to use decisive military action. Will there be an attack or not? This question was put today by journalists at a news conference and it received a definite answer. No one intends to attack the legislature.

Those taking part in the news conference were the military and representatives of the republic's Procurator's Office. Criminal proceedings have been instituted with regard to instances of armed clashes and deaths. How is the investigation proceeding? Will those guilty of deaths be punished? Highly qualified lawyers and investigators from Moscow have arrived in the republic. Have they managed to find a common language with the Lithuanian Procurator's Office? [video shows panel of six people]

[Unidentified speaker] Our investigative group is effectively in a state of complete isolation. In a roundabout way we are managing to obtain evidence about those who died, who they are, the nature of their injuries, those who have received injuries, bodily injuries and who reported to medical establishments etc. We receive roughly the same answer to all our requests: If Paulauskas, the procurator of the Lithuanian Republic, gives his permission, we will give you the necessary answers. [video shows speaker addressing someone on the panel who is trying to say something] Wait a minute. [video shows speaker continuing to speak to audience] You can understand yourself, that it is extremely difficult to work in this situation. Nevertheless we are doing all we can to ensure than this tragic incident and these tragic events are investigated fully and objectively. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Explains Klaipeda Troop Moves

PM1701171091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by N. Burbyga and V. Litovkin from the "Rumors and Facts" feature: "What Is Happening at Klaipeda Port"]

[Text] There has been a report from Lithuania that new Soviet Army units have arrived in the republic. In particular, that one such unit arrived from Germany on 15 January and was stationed in tents on the territory of Klaipeda maritime port.

Colonel General V. Verevkin-Rakhalskiy, chief of staff of the USSR Defense Ministry operations group for the withdrawal of troops from West Europe [as published], told the editorial office that ferries carrying troops are indeed arriving in Klaipeda, but they have nothing to do with the events in Lithuania.

The point is that questions of the transit of our troops through Polish territory have not yet been settled with Poland and we cannot withdraw them by rail or by the superhighways. In order to avoid disrupting the plans laid down for withdrawing troops from the Western Group, it was necessary to start shipping men and equipment by sea, by the Mukran-Klaipeda ferry crossing, which has been in existence for several years. And for the first time the people are being loaded not into railcars, but into holds, and the machinery is going onto the ferry decks under its own steam.

Some 300 personnel and vehicles of a motorized infantry regiment on its way to the Carpathian District arrived at the port of Klaipeda 15 January on board the ferry Kaunas. The next day they transferred in an orderly manner to Draugiste Station, onto a train prepared for this purpose—the men into passenger cars, the machinery onto flatcars. Then, without delay, unaffected by the railmen's strike, they set off for their new place of deployment.

The Mukran-Klaipeda ferry complex is served by five ferries. Three of them belong to the Soviet side and two to the German side. Now, apart from economic freight, they will also be shipping the Western Group of Forces' material assets to the Union.

A small military team remains at Klaipeda port—about 30 people. Their task is to give assistance to the port workers in transferring the troop trains from the sea to the shores.

"And in general," Vladimir Nikolayevich said, concluding the conversation, "there are no additional troops of ours in Lithuania."

Sobchak Wants Emergency Congress on Lithuania

LD1801065791 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Interview with USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak by unidentified interviewer; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Aside from voicing condolences to all the nearest and dearest of those who died, and to all of the Lithuanian people, I want to ponder how this could have happened, and how it is that this is taking place. How long is this going to go on in our land? In Tbilisi, we had gas and sappers' shovels, and now we have encountered a...

[Interviewer, interrupting] We have moved on a little, Anatoliy....

[Sobchak] ...somewhat different version. I want to remind you that the commission that investigated the events in Tbilisi uncovered the reasons and named those who were guilty. The Second Congress of People's Deputies decided to approve our conclusions and charged the Supreme Soviet Presidium with taking whatever measures were necessary to implement the conclusions of the commission.

As you know, however, nobody took responsibility for the tragedy. We were assured that it was guerillas who had acted there. Much was later written of this in the newspapers and magazines. There were claims that extremists had been found. But still, to this very day, we have seen no results from this investigation. Nobody has been held culpable, even though we were assured that it had all been established—that there were extremists, and people who had provoked all this, and that they would be held responsible under the law. But there we are. Soon it will be two years since the Tbilisi tragedy and we have nothing to show from the investigation.

Now we have another tragedy. What do we hear? When I heard that the president of our country... [changes thought] it is explained that again he knew nothing. Then, while such explanations might have convinced some people back in 1989, because the president had only just returned from a trip abroad, and had not even been in Moscow when the decision was made to send troops into Tbilisi, nowadays, though, this seems quite amazing! At this point I, as a lawyer, would like to ask a few questions.

Why, and on what grounds, did the so-called National Salvation Committee appear? Nobody knows where it even came from! In Moscow today, those members of the Interregional Deputies Group who reurned from Vilnius told me that, in their opinion, this committee had been set up by functionaries of the Communist Party of Lithuania, and is led by its secretaries and members of the Politburo. It is not even that important. It has still not been officially stated who these people are. But what does this committee, which sprang nobody knows from where, have the opportunity to appeal to the military, and why, acting on an appeal from this committee, would the military use force against the legitimately elected legislature? Against the legitimately elected government?

Why is it that our country's Constitutional Oversight Committee remains silent to this day? It was specially set up for this very reason! I believe that, had the president said that he had given the order to carry all this out, to restore somebody's rights or to restore legitimacy, then that would have been much simpler, more honest and more legitimate.

But today, on the subject of the legality of the actions of the Minister of Defense and the Minister of Internal Affairs, both of these should, in my opinion, be held criminally responsible for violating their official duties. Because if troops were employed without their knowledge, something that is hard to imagine, yet the explanations given by them were so unconvincing and confused that it is impossible to understand anything at all, I believe that today we simply must demand the convocation of an emergency Congress of USSR People's Deputies and must demand that the president report back on all has happened in the Baltic.

Belorussians, Leningraders Comment on Baltics

LD1801073691 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 18 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Glod and Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy: "Belorussian Parliament, Leningrad Communists Take Stand"]

[Text] Minsk January 18 TASS— The Belorussian parliament issued a statement on events in Lithuania, which notes that "all contradictions between the centre and republics, as well as between sovereign republics, should be resolved only through dialogue and political settlement, with respect for the sovereign rights of republics. Power pressure is inadmissible. The free choice by the people alone can be the guarantor of peace and quiet in republics".

The Belorussian parliament demanded that the Soviet president immediately end armed forces' involvement in settling Lithuania's political problems, begin an investigation into the activity of the "National Salvation Committee" and take needed measures to prevent future uses of arms to resolve conflicts.

"We address a request to the Lithuanian parliament to use all its potential to ensure society's integrity. Lithuania's future is inconceivable without justice and equality to all inhabitants of the republic irrespective of their nationality, political orientation or religion", the statement says.

Leningrad January 18 TASS—By TASS correspondents Nikolay Kondratenko and John Polischuk:

The tragedy in Lithuania, with which Leningrad has long maintained close ties, is a result of economic and political separatism, tinged with colours of nationalism and chauvinism. The situation was further complicated due to machinations by the Lithuanian leadership, heading towards secession, Leningrad Communists said at a plenary meeting of their regional party committee on Thursday. Representatives of the Central Committees of the Lithuanian and Estonian Communist Parties particiapated in the plenary meeting.

The plenary meeting addressed to the Soviet President a request to respond to the plea from work collectives of the Baltic republics to introduce presidential rule and restore the Soviet Constitution on their territories.

Paper Rounds Up Reaction, Media Coverage

PM1601145091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Roundup of correspondents' reports: "Country's Reaction to Baltic Events"]

[Text] Moscow—The Mossovet [Moscow City Soviet] deputies began their 14 January emergency session with a minute's silence in memory of those who died in the tragic events at the Lithuanian television and radio center.

The tone of this unusual meeting was set by Mossovet Deputy Chairman Sergey Stankevich, who stressed in his speech that "nothing can justify the violence that occurred." Literally on the eve of the tragedy the Council of the Federation had voted unanimously against the use of military force in resolving political conflicts.

Leningrad—The Leningrad City Soviet Presidium has issued a statement resolutely protesting the use of military force in Lithuania.

Minsk—S. Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet: "The principles that the center upholds so persistently—respect for the law and the constitutional authorities—have been violated. Without this there will never be order or a rule-of-law society in the country. The Committee of National Salvation, which requested help from the military, has no constitutional powers."

Karaganda—Official circles are maintaining total silence, and in the labor collectives the only discussion is taking place in smoking breaks. The republic and oblast newspapers that were published 15 January do not provide even brief news reports from Lithuania.

Lvov—A quotation from a telegram from 24 USSR and Ukrainian SSR people's deputies to M. Gorbachev: "We assess the sending in of troops and the intention to establish presidential rule in the republic of Lithuania as a gross violation of its sovereignty."

Ufa—The republic committee of the Union of Democratic Youth of Bashkiria (formerly the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] obkom [oblast committee]) issued a statement in the youth newspaper LENINETS: "We believe that tanks and weapons are not the way to resolve complex political problems...."

Kemerovo—The oblast soviet presidium has adopted a statement. It says, in part: "The use of Army units... testifies either to a dangerous loss of control of the Army or to the center's intention to put an end to the republic's sovereignty."

Yaroslavl—The oblast newspaper and CPSU obkom are not reporting the population's reaction to events in Lithuania. A telegram signed by an "initiative group" of workers at six industrial enterprises in Yaroslavl Oblast and addressed to B.N. Yeltsin says: "We express support for the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium statement on Lithuania."

Yerevan—Even before the armed intervention, the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Armenia issued a joint statement assessing events in Lithuania as a new manifestation of strong-arm tactics and repressions. On 14 January Armenian television gave a platform to various categories of the population. The assessment of events was unequivocal: Substituting gross strong-arm tactics for political methods of resolving such conflicts is impermissible.

Donetsk—The public is almost indifferent to the events in Vilnius, at least on the surface. At the mines and plants and on the trollies and streetcars the working people prefer merely to feel sorry for the victims. Only the intelligentsia says uncompromisingly that "Vilnius is the end of democracy and the start of dictatorship." The position of soviet and party workers: The country is out of control, there is no tight rein, and now weapons are having to be used.

Voronezh—The party press seeks to justify the military intervention. The youth newspaper condemns it. Officials are expressing no opinion on the subject.

Kursk—Meetings and rallies are being held at enterprises, condemning the "Sajudists' provocative actions" with regard to the Russian-speaking population and the kindling of passions. A statement adopted last Saturday at an oblast soviet session says, in particular: "While expressing their solidarity with healthy forces in the Lithuanian SSR and supporting USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's message to the republic Supreme Council, the people's deputies of Kursk Oblast resolutely protest against open actions by destructive forces that are pushing the peoples toward anarchy and lawlessness."

Irkutsk—The Baykal region's independent newspaper SM [as published] has printed a short letter from a group of teachers at the teacher training institute under the headline "Today Vilnius, Tomorrow...?" An editorial commentary says: "When the legitimately elected authorities are blackmailed and intimidated under cover of tanks, this is the prelude to a military coup."

Ashkhabad—The central newspapers—IZVESTIYA and TRUD—have not been published here for more than a week—there is no paper. So the important news in the country is bypassing this region—Central Television's fourth channel, which they receive here, is in the entertainment genre.

Foreign Reactions to Situation Cited

PM1701145191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Roundup of TASS and IZVESTIYA correspondent reports: "Echo of Events in Lithuania"]

[Excerpts] **Washington**

"Events in the Baltic in the past few days cause us profound concern and anxiety," State Department spokesperson M. Tutwiler stated. "There can be no long-term American-Soviet cooperation without shared values. And as the president stated Sunday, events like those currently taking place in the Baltic states threaten to set back and possibly even reverse the reform process, which is so important for world peace and the development of a new international order.

"We continued to be profoundly concerned and anxious about the situation in the Baltics. Force has been used in Lithuania, and a terrible tragedy occurred. Only peaceful dialogue, not the use or threat of force, can settle the situation without further bloodshed not only in Lithuania but also in Latvia and Estonia. We are attentively following the situation and urge dialogue, not incitement, as the best way to settle the crisis and make good the harm that has been done."

Prague

A Civic Forum assembly held in Prague has issued a statement on events in Lithuania arguing the inadmissibility of the use of force and the solution of disputed question by peaceful political means. The CSFR Government adopted a statement on the same subject at an emergency session. It mentions, in part, an intention to appeal to Hungary and Poland to speed up their withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact Organization.

Because of events in the Baltic Prime Minister M. Calfa canceled his visit to Southeast Asia only minutes before he was due to fly out and met with USSR Ambassador B.D. Pankin, from whom he heard an explanation of the situation and to whom he spelled out the CSFR Government's position.

On his return from Germany, where he has been receiving treatment at a clinic, President V. Havel shared with journalists his views on current problems, including the situation in Lithuania. "I am shocked by these events," the president said, "although I am not surprised by them; I have long thought that M.S. Gorbachev cannot predict and forestall events in the USSR. It seems to me that he is trying to restrain the unrestrainable. Ultimately this could also destabilize the international situation." This is possibly the first time that V. Havel has allowed himself to make assessments of the USSR president of this nature. Previously he has spoken of M.S. Gorbachev with invariable respect and often admiration. [passage omitted]

Warsaw

The Ljublin city authorities have disseminated a statement which says: "If a Lithuanian government in exile is formed in Poland we are prepared to make available all conditions for it to operate in Ljublin." Reporting this Tuesday, the Polish news agency recalled that the Warsaw authorities have already expressed similar readiness. The Ljublin leadership also urged "all local institutions and organizations to receive victims of military actions and political refugees from Lithuania should it be necessary." The Lithuanian foreign minister, who is tasked with forming a government in exile "if Moscow seizes the republic," has gone to London to "organize international support" for the present Lithuanian leadership.

Sofia

Two protest rallies against the Soviet troops' intervention in Lithuania have been held outside the USSR Embassy. The rallies were held under the slogans "Evil empire USSR"; "No to KGB plans!"; and "Stop the violence in Lithuania." Those present resolutely condemned attempts to reimpose the USSR Constitution on Lithuanian territory by force of arms.

President Zhelyu Zhelev had a meeting with V.I. Ivanisov, USSR charge d'affaires ad interim to the Republic of Bulgaria. The president expressed serious concern at events in Lithuania and assessed them as a blow to perestroyka.

A statement by the Union of Democratic Forces and a number of other parties assess what is happening in Lithuania as a throwback to Stalinism. The Union of Democratic Forces legislative group intends to submit a resolution to the Grand National Assembly proposing Bulgaria's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact Organization.

EEC Lithuania Stance, Soviet Oil Need Linked

PM1601143791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Report by IAN correspondent V. Katin for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "There Should Be No Hurry Over EEC Council of Ministers Decision in Connection with Events in Lithuania"]

[Text] Brussels—Lithuania has suffered casualties whose causes still have to be carefully investigated. But, having gathered for an emergency meeting in Brussels, without waiting for the conclusions of such an objective investigation and basing itself only on the statements of Lithuania's separatist forces and on television broadcasts, the EEC Council of Ministers is making the decision to threaten Moscow with the suspension of the cooperation agreement.

Of itself this warning already verges on interference in internal affairs. On the other hand, it can be interpreted as political and economic pressure. After all, the EEC leadership understands full well the state in which the USSR national economy is at present. The agreement on cooperation with our country provides for the granting of large but by no means free credits, the construction of mutually advantageous projects, and the training of cadres. Naturally, the suspension of cooperation on all these avenues and the freezing of special-purpose credits could aggravate our difficulties. Is that not what they are counting on in Brussels?

Actually, to judge from my observations, there is not complete unanimity among all 12 EC member countries. At any rate Germany's position differs from the others by its restraint and circumspection. Paris has made it clear that food aid to the USSR must in no way be questioned.

In turn many experts in the EEC administration assess mutual relations with our country soberly, from a purely practical viewpoint, linking them with the Persian Gulf crisis. People here argue like this: Tension in the Near and Middle East is growing, war seems to be near, but where will Europe get the oil it needs? As of today oil stocks remain for exactly three months. And, naturally, they are turning their eyes toward the oil stores of the Soviet Union, good terms with which farsighted Western politicians and economists are very strongly advising.

Ex-Political Prisoners Ask for World Support

LD1701163991 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1505 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Statement by Professor Algis Geniusas, member of the Presidium of the Union of Political Prisoners, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council Session in Vilnius; in English—live]

[Text] On behalf of Lithuania's Association of Soviet Gulags Political Ex-Prisoners, we appeal to democratic states and institutions of the world to do their utmost in rendering support to Lithuania's resolute resistance to the Soviet criminal invasion, accompanied by bloodshed of our freedom-loving unarmed people, seizure, and destruction of our mass information media and the attempts to overthrow our democratically elected legislature and government.

We call for international indictment of the initiators and perpetrators of this criminal campaign, challenging the integrity and fortitude of democracy all over the world.

[Signed] Presidium of Lithuania's Association of Soviet Gulags Political Ex-Prisoners.

Conflicting 'Appeals' by Social Groups Cited

PM1701163591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Correspondent N. Lashkevich report: "Alarming Time for Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius—Mourning continues in Lithuania. After the funeral ceremonies, a session of the Lithuanian legislature was held Wednesday evening.

V. Landsbergis introduced deputies from the Supreme Soviets of Belorussia, the Ukraine, Georgia, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and other republics who have arrived in Lithuania. The chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet appealed to the republic's mass media not to discuss the subject of revenge. "We must not organize social ostracism," he said. "Hatred is born of fear." He noted that at this difficult time for the republic "Lithuania is united as never before."

The official Lithuanian authorities' desire to reassure the Russian-speaking population is explained by the sense of fear which the national minorities began experiencing following the 13 January events. The most incredible suppositions and rumors have been circulating. These have been whipped up by various information coming in from Central Television to the effect that water and power supplies will be cut off.... A. Khromchenko, director of Ignalina AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station], has stated that power supplies will not be cut off. However, judging by incoming reports, the station's collective has decided to strike and to cut off power supplies.

The Russian Cultural Center has issued an appeal to fellow-countrymen and all Lithuania's citizens. In its appeal it assessed the military's actions as overt aggression and a military putsch. In turn, the National Salvation Committee has promulgated a number of official documents. The statement from the Committee for National Salvation and the Defense of the Soviet Constitution contains a warning to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet that "infringement of the rights of Soviet citizens, Communists, and all servicemen's families will prompt the most resolute measures." An appeal to V. Landsbergis protests the "concentration of guerrillas outside the Television Center." An appeal to the USSR president and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet requests the immediate imposition of presidential rule in Lithuania.

Lithuanian Deputy Premier Z. Vayshvila, assessing the situation in the republic at the morning sitting of the legislative session Thursday, linked the intensive nighttime patrols—irrespective of the lifting of the curfew—the document checks, and the cases of citizens being detained with the start of hostilities in the Persian Gulf.

G. Tarazevich, the USSR president's representative, has arrived in Vilnius.

On the whole the situation in Lithuania remains tense.

Opposite Viewpoints of Vilnius Events Cited

PM1601165191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interviews with A. Brazauskas, Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet deputy and leader of the Democratic Labor Party, and Yu. Yermalavichyus, chief of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee Ideological Department and "Central Committee representative for liaising with the National Salvation Committee," by correspondent N. Lashkevich; place and date not given; under "Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Shadow of 13 January; Two Views of Tragic Events in Vilnius"]

[Text] The tragic events which occurred in Vilnius on the night of 13 January have caused a real shock in Lithuania.

A detailed analysis of the causes of "bloody Sunday" is still ahead and so far we can only speak of the legislative results of the tragic conflict and its causes and consequences. The wave of terrible human tension has not yet abated. There have been sleepless nights, anxious waiting. What next? Will the blood of totally innocent people be shed again? What is the mood of the so-called National Salvation Committee? And the military?

A delegation from the Council of the Federation which left for Moscow Tuesday evening will, it is to be supposed, give a correct assessment of the Vilnius events. There is no doubt that the commission members were given two opposite views of the causes of the confrontation which ultimately led to casualties. Let us too familiarize ourselves with them.

A. Brazauskas, Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet deputy, former vice-premier of Lithuania, and leader of the Democratic Labor Party:

I do not think that the military decided on this action independently. In my opinion the scheme for their decision to take control of a number of establishments by armed force was as follows: The leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania (the former Communist Party of Lithuania-CPSU) concluded that the time had come to act and they planned their action painstakingly, deciding to enlist the help of the military. That alone already portended unpredictable consequences. And I am surprised to say the least that the military command agreed to help these "insurgents." Surely it could not fail to understand that a mass of unforeseen circumstances could become involved at any moment in the seizure scenario they had thought up? But the gun was already hanging on the wall. And the command fired it. And that is terrible, because the Army's gross interference in public life is unacceptable in a civilized world on the threshold of the 21st century. That is savagery under the conditions of the democratization of society and the universal easing of tension, when the first time in many decades the world has breathed more easily. Armed forces—it is obvious, after all!—should not interfere in internal affairs and especially not try to influence the political situation by barbaric methods. I cannot understand how armed assault troops could shoot civilians. What were they seeking? What were they trying to prove? And now people are trying to make out that they were the chief culprits, although the real initiators of the tragedy are the present leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

[Lashkevich] You mean the Lithuanian National Salvation Committee?

[Brazauskas] What committee? Where is it? If it really exists and represents the people's interests, then let it show itself to this people, let it defend them by peaceful means and come out onto the streets. No, it hides behind the backs of the military and operates on the sly. Perhaps in reality it does not exist at all.

It [Communist Party of Lithuania] has been so firmly entrenched in any structures of power that it is virtually omnipotent. The result is that a party or public movement can simply give the order to open fire—in the direct sense of the word—against those who disagree with its political postulates.

[Lashkevich] Do you not believe that economic destabilization, the growth of prices, inflation, and the government crisis have promoted this drastic confrontation in Lithuania?

[Brazauskas] Perhaps the reverse—perhaps it was precisely this political confrontation, the desire to overthrow legally elected authorities and sit in the leaders' chairs which destabilized the situation? It is sometimes said that the increase in prices is to blame. Indeed sooner or later we will come to this increase. Perhaps the government did make mistakes, but surely that does not give a pretext for using military force to put them right? This is not the Middle Ages....

[Lashkevich] Where do you see the way out of this crisis situation?

[Brazauskas] Accords on specific issues are needed. There is no doubt that the Army is living under grave social conditions and I should like public anger not to be directed at the families of servicemen living in Vilnius. Some rapid response formation has come in, killed people, "introduced order," and gone home. But the people remain. That is why our first job is to agree with the Soviet Union on the status of the Army on the republic's territory and on its rights and duties. After our casualties, however painful and hurtful it may be for us, we must nonetheless pursue the process of talks with the Soviet Union and at the roundtable, together, seek a way out of the bloody impasse. [Brazauskas ends]

Yu. Yermalavichyus, chief of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee ideological department and Central Committee representative for liaising with the National Salvation Committee:

I personally, as a man, Communist, and Lithuanian, am very pained that misfortune has befallen our people. We struggled against this development of events. But the forces guided by nationalist, separatist aims gained the upper hand. Economic collapse, political and social tension, the inflammatory appeals from people of profascist orientation for an armed clash and a fratricidal war against the Communists, the supporters of Soviet power, and the military—all this ultimately led to the bloodshed. To avoid a tragic outcome we should have prevented the formation of illegal paramilitary subunits in Lithuania and the formation of extremist near-paramilitary formations of public organizations like the "Union of Marksmen," the "Youth of Lithuania," and so forth. This activity led to the point where sooner or later they would take up arms against those inconvenient to the present regime.

[Lashkevich] That is you decided to anticipate events whose end result was still not clear?

[Yermalavichyus] Yes, we had to prevent it.

[Lashkevich] Explain the situation. Surely the National Salvation Committee, which is, I stress, an unconstitutional organization which, in addition to other public organizations allegedly also includes the Communist Party of Lithuania, did not have the right to ask for help from the military in order to seize an "anti-Soviet" television center?

[Yermalavichyus] I do not know what tasks this committee might set the military. Events developed as follows. On 12 January a group of workers escorted by people's militia volunteers tried to present a petition to the Supreme Soviet, government, and television and radio committee. They were savagely beaten up. In this situation the National Salvation Committee appealed for help to the USSR MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry] troops and the leadership of the Vilnius garrison. Help was rendered. The military came to these people's defense: There was an armed clash. Blood was shed.

[Lashkevich] If the Supreme Soviet was, as you assert, elected illegally, then why did the Communist Party of Lithuania take part in the spring elections and why was a deputy from the Communist Party of Lithuania even elected to parliament in the fall?

[Yermalavichyus] The elections showed that the present deputies were elected by a small percentage of votes. At the time the Communist Party of Lithuania was split. Separatist nationalist forces derived opportunities for hysteria and euphoria.

[Lashkevich] Is it possible seriously to count on your keeping hold, with the aid of military force, of the helm of power if it is seized by violence? And on whose conscience will the blood be?

[Yermalavichyus] All responsibility for casualties rests with the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the Lithuanian Government. They were constantly calling for this. The share of our responsibility is that we did not succeed in avoiding these casualties. The Lithuanian leadership needed these casualties to conceal the perniciousness of its own policy. After all they have set themselves the aim of restoring the bourgeois system! They will seek new bloodshed.

[Lashkevich] But have they not as a result had an effect directly opposite to that intended? Very many people today assert that Landsbergis' positions have strengthened substantially since your use of such uncivilized means of seizing power?

[Yermalavichyus] People have been deluged with nationalist propaganda for the third year now in Lithuania. But I am sure that the majority of people are alarmed by what is happening in Lithuania. Landsbergis' grouping has become a black profascist sect and was able to hold together on the basis of deception, blackmail, and diktat. It has done its black deed and deceived people.

[Lashkevich] Everyone is worried that there may be new bloodshed during such an implacable class struggle?

[Yermalavichyus] The situation has been aggravated. I think that the National Salvation Committee will go underground and will struggle against this regime. The struggle will be two-edged. We shall resolve the conflict only by introducing presidential rule in Lithuania.

Defense Ministry Reports Lithuania Events

PM1501100791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "The USSR Defense Ministry's Press Center Reports"]

[Text] Many letters and cables are arriving at the USSR Defense Ministry from the Baltic region, including Lithuania. For instance, cables have arrived from Klaipeda from the citizens committees of the Baltia Ship Building Plant and the Litrybprom Association. They express angry condemnation for "ambitious politicians'" actions which have led to emergence of a crisis situation in the republic and they also express fervent approval for practical measures aimed at restoring legitimacy, law, and order. "People are asking," the fishermen's cable says, "that the implementation of these measures not come to a halt and that firm, resolute action be taken."

Similar thoughts and feelings are being expressed at this time at rallies and meetings with many thousands of participants in Vilnius and other centers of population. People are displaying understanding of the vital necessity for the participation of servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces together with the personnel of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] subunits in taking steps which will prevent the establishment, under the slogans of democracy, of procedures running counter to the interests of the people. These are forced steps. They are fully justified in the situation that has taken shape and essentially become deadlocked.

This sentiment on the part of the majority of working people and of the population of the republic who everywhere are supporting the servicemen of the subunits drafted in to implement measures to restore constitutional order is opposed by the aspiration of certain circles in and beyond the republic to play the "anti-Army card." Direct distortion and falsification of the facts, and the dissemination of myths about the "cruel actions" and "inhumanity" of the paratroopers, about disguised members of the military, the mass use of tanks, and other unworthy tricks have been brought into play. Unfortunately, certain central publications have turned out to be party to the spread of disinformation.

There is no doubt about the aims of this campaign. They are once again, as has happened before, to lay the blame at another's door, to portray the man in uniform as an "image of the enemy," to fan passions, and to absolve of responsibility those who are really to blame for the crisis and for the deaths of people, including servicemen. And these guilty parties are well-known. They are those who embarked on the path of gross violations of and deviations from the USSR Constitution, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution, and USSR laws, of ignoring the decisions of the Congresses of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR presidential decrees and appeals, and of flouting citizens' political and social rights.

The fact that servicemen of the USSR MVD Internal Troops and the Soviet Army have mounted a guard over individual installations in Vilnius and certain other cities essentially in order to restore legality and justice is deliberately hushed up. As is known, the building from which the Territorial Protection Department, which had willfully taken it over, was expelled, for example, belonged to the republic DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] committee, while the House of the Republic's Press, which had also been illegally taken over, is CPSU property.

Particularly malicious speculation has been directed against the involvement of servicemen in measures to regain control over installations of the Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, which had been the main source for the fueling of passions and the destabilization of the situation. Statements to the effect that Lithuania is henceforth in a state of war with the Soviet Union had even been transmitted. Calls for an armed struggle had been issued. At the same time provocative fabrications about the nature of the servicemen's actions are being spread intensively.

The fact that these and other installations were being guarded by armed persons who do not have the right to bear arms under the laws current in the USSR and who, moreoever, put up resistance is also being deliberately concealed. Thus, in the region of the television center they were the first to open fire on servicemen, as well as attacking them with sharpened metal pikes, gas canisters, Molotov cocktails, grenades, and homemade explosive devices. Precisely this accounts for the fact that, on mounting guard over the republic DOSAAF committee building, servicemen were forced to resort to warning shots using blank cartridges and, at the Press House, to fire several live shots—also warning ones. Their actions at the television center were also of the nature of a counterreaction.

Regarding the several tanks and other units of armored hardware, they were used for the sole purpose of ensuring protection for servicemen in the event of firearms and other weapons being used against them by extremist, criminal elements. This precaution was not superfluous, as similar cases had occurred earlier, including in the Baltic republics. Tanks were also used to dismantle and remove barriers and obstacles erected in the streets.

Today we know for certain about the gathering of representatives of anticonstitutional, illegal armed formations incited by extremist, nationalist slogans and appeals outside a number of installations in Vilnius and in other cities in the republic. Thus, on 14 January the television center in Kaunas repeatedly broadcast this report: "Lithuania's independence is in danger, and all resistance forces are to embark on actions in accordance with instruction No. 3." It is not hard to guess the contents of this instruction, if you consider that one of the orders from the Territorial Protection Department demands "the creation of conditions for maneuvering and initiative in order to clear the whole territory of Lithuania of agents and occupiers from other states." Consequently, there is still a vital necessity for vigilance in respect of possible actions by destructive, separatist forces.

Servicemen of Vilnius Garrison and of the paratrooper subunits which have arrived there to assist in conducting the draft are now on the territory of the military camp. Yesterday many residents of the republic's capital turned up there to express words of gratitude for the assistance in preventing an escalation of violence and in ensuring legality and guarantees of safety and normal living conditions for the population.

'Outward Calm' in Vilnius Termed 'Deceptive'

PM1601140791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jan 91 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by special correspondents Yu. Stroganov and V. Shirokov: "Candles of Remembrance"]

[Text] Vilnius—Candles are burning in front of the television and radio building and by the Vilnius television tower—where blood was shed in the night of Saturday to Sunday. A line of many thousands of people moves toward the hall to bid farewell to the deceased. Flames flicker here in the semi-gloom, too. Candles of remembrance expressing human grief....

The first impression a newcomer gets as he arrives in the streets of Vilnius is that all is calm. Stores are working. People are walking around. Trolleys are sounding their horns. However, this outward calm is deceptive—everything is in turmoil in Independence Square. Only now it has acquired an even more grim appearance. Barricades blocking the entrances to the square have been built using steel bars, reinforced concrete girders, and other construction materials. Soviet passports and army papers have been nailed to the iron bars. Camp fires are burning. From time to time groups of people begin chanting: "Laisva Letuva"—"Free Lithuania."

We looked at those faces and we saw that the majority of those people are sincerely convinced that their struggle is just. And we understand that we have no right to criticize them for that—you cannot blame a person for his eternal striving for freedom. How this sacred word is to be interpreted is a different matter. Therein lies the horror and tragedy of the present situation, that different people and different sections of the population understand this concept in different ways. Some believe that the priority of the indigenous nation is unconditional while others believe that human rights, no matter where people live, presuppose the same unconditional and full equality in all things.

The acute confrontation which sprang from a failure to understand or accept a different viewpoint is becoming increasingly intransigent after that tragic night. A different viewpoint is harshly and ruthlessly rejected and any argument in its favor is perceived as nothing more than an attempt to hoodwink the public. Instead the most absurd rumors are received as trustworthy. Some people are even saying in all seriousness that the Soviet Army servicemen killed their comrade themselves to incite provocation....

Others are already moving from words to deeds. A meeting of the city aktiv in which M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, participated, cited evidence of the fueling of the tense atmosphere and moral terror against Communists. Sirens are being sounded in rayons of the republic and appeals to kill Communists are being voiced through bullhorns. Party committees have been ransacked. In some places witch hunts [moralnaya rasprava] have begun against Communists.

Moral terror... This concept, which entered the public vocabulary in the republic with the appearance of Sajudis, is being used again. But it is not only Communists on whom the rightwingers have set their sights. People in uniform have long been among their targets. Now it is no longer safe for an officer or soldier to appear on the city streets by himself. We saw young people jeering at a vehicle full of soldiers. But it cannot be said that they created the present situation. And it was not they who adopted the decisions....

Furthermore, far from everyone shares that attitude toward the Soviet Army. We visited a draft center where we met a group of young men who had received their draft papers and immediately went to the military commissariat.

"Are you joining the Army voluntarily?" we asked them.

"Yes, we are," the young men replied.

"I want to join the assault troops," Algirdas K. said. "My father was a tankman in the Army, he told me a lot about how hard army service is. I want to experience it for myself."

Roman Ts. is also joining the assault troops. Timur L. fancies the Navy.

We are not giving the men's surnames to prevent their families from becoming targets for attack by certain forces. Roman Ts. himself, who said initially that his mother had told him to serve honorably and with dignity, suddenly remembered and asked us not to mention his surname.

...Times are tough for workers of the republic's military commissariat now. Nevertheless, after the well known USSR Presidential Decree, the draft into the Soviet Army has picked up.

"During the first two days we notified a large number of draftees," Colonel K. Golubev, chief of the republican military commissariat's political department, said. "We immediately received the voluntary consent of over 600 people. Some have already been sent to the places where they will be serving whereas before the decree the draft figure was only 13.2 percent with Lithuanians constituting only one-third of that figure."

It will seem strange to some people that we have to conceal the names of these young people. However, such is the grim reality. The evening before we walked along Gediminas Avenue. From the streetlamps and in the store windows there hung a picture of a young police captain. The inscription above the picture was: "Judas." On the officer's forehead someone had drawn a red star. Why had they stigmatized him in that way?

A few days ago we met him at the police academy building. We were surprised to be greeted on the road leading to the steps of the building by a barrier of armored personnel carriers and men in bullet-proof vests wielding automatic rifles. Some of them wore balaclavas, concealing everything but their eyes. The caution, it turned out, was not misplaced. We were greeted by Captain Boleslav Makutynovich, whose picture appeared on the streets a little later. He had been chief of staff in a Special Purpose Militia Detachment-type police subunit. One night he and 15 of his comrades had switched sides from the Lithuanian Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] to the USSR MVD. They took their weapons with them.

"Our subunit was created to combat organized crime, racketeering, and other types of crime," the captain said. "Recently, however, there were increasingly frequent attempts to use us as a 'buffer' between the republic's leadership and the military. The territorial protection department, which many of us opposed, became interested in cooperation. We were afraid that one day our weapons could be used to shoot us in the back. Some people noticed that they were being shadowed. Then we made our decision. Even though it was not an easy choice to make—we all have families, children. We have various nationalities in our ranks and we all took this step completely consciously.

"They are accusing us of treachery and betrayal," he went on after a pause. "But I took the oath and I remained faithful to it. I do not want to take any other oath because I remember the words of the first one: 'May the contempt of my comrades punish me if I violate the oath...'"

Today, when the Lithuanian National Salvation Committee is being accused of anonymity, we understand why this is so. It is only the real threat to the lives of its members and their families that is forcing them to act thus although the time will come when we shall learn their names.

Silence in Lithuania 'Paid for in Blood'

PM1601142591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by Special correspondents Yu. Stroganov, V. Shirokov: "Sorrow, Alarm, and Hope"]

[Text] Vilnius—The night of Sunday-Monday passed more or less quietly. Without shooting, bursts from automatic weapons, tank cannon fire, the clanging of tracks, or the hysterical wailing of ambulances. Silence hung over Vilnius. A silence paid for in blood...

The day before, mourning tapes appeared on national flags, and many women and children put on black headscarves. Lithuania is in mourning. The radio reported 13 killed and over 100 wounded—what is more, not all of them by bullets. Russians, Belorussians, Poles, and people of all nationalities populating this region are sharing with Lithuanians the sorrow that has engulfed the republic.

On whose conscience is this blood? The soldiers'? No! They were carrying out orders. And by the way, the first to be killed was actually an officer, shot in the back. Shooting by militants from the television and radio broadcasting building prompted retaliatory fire.

Responsibility lies with those who took the situation to a critical limit by whipping the situation up to an incredible and unbearable tension. With those who consistently, persistently, and skillfully pursued the line of splitting the people on the basis of ethnic origin and other factors: It is easier to rule that way. With those who have swamped people with a wave of tendentious and at times simply false information. Many people completely lost their bearings in this turbid torrent, and they were manipulated at will. In television and radio broadcasts the Soviet Union was called nothing less than an "alien state," military personnel were called "occupiers," and Communists—fascists. Every piece of ammunition was used—whether good, bad, or indifferent—as long as it tightened the screws or more searchingly reached the innermost chords of the national soul.

Meanwhile, under the smoke screen of this propaganda, extremism prepared to leap from the shadows into the light—surreptitiously weapons were being procured, intensive training of officers for "their" army was going on, people from the territorial defense department were giving instructions in street fighting methods, and lists of activists, Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] members, party leaders, and simply those dissatisfied with the current republic government's adventurist policy were being compiled. We ourselves saw military carbines including ones with optical sights, leaflets, and lists of those who were to be neutralized on "D day." All this was requisitioned by the Army during the liberation of the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] building, which the territorial defense department had adapted for its purposes. Incidentally, they are not hiding the ultimate aim of their feverish efforts very well at all. We heard the following with our own ears on Kaunas radio: "The time is coming when we will get even with them all!"

However, all this went on for so long under the surface, in secret. But on the surface a decorous performance was played out under the cloak of legislative democracy. Time after time laws were adopted—tailor-made laws, it is true—taking away civic dignity from people of other nationalities and depriving them of any sort of prospects. The decisions of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which annulled the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's act which had unilaterally declared the republic's secession from the Union, were treated by them as nothing but empty phrases. They even refused to recognize the appeal by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev to the republic Supreme Soviet and to restore the validity of the USSR Constitution and Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution on the republic's territory. But it was in fact opening up a normal civilized path toward settling the Lithuanian situation.

Even the republic's economic regression, caused by arrogant attitudes to the collaboration that developed between enterprises in different regions of the country, has taught them nothing. V. Landsbergis and his "team" were determined to have it their own way, although sober-minded persons warned against rash and hasty steps. One of them in particular, E. Bickauskas, who represents Lithuania's interests in Moscow, said:

"We do not have the right to 'cut off' economic ties with the Soviet Union; they must be put on a different footing, as between partners. We are interested in foreign capital and foreign investors as a springboard to the Russian market."

Cutting these ties has led to the republic economy's state of crisis—the figures for the output of industry, agriculture, and the social sphere have deteriorated markedly and the living standards are falling.

The republic legislature, seeing that it is losing real power and realizing that its stock with the Lithuanian population is also falling rapidly, starting to sober up from nationalistic euphoria and feeling the burden of problems that are being shifted onto its shoulders, decided to go for broke. Skillfully exploiting the indignation of the people's masses at the price rises—the earnings from which, incidentally, were to go on maintaining numerous departments and setting up a customs service, its own army, and so on—V. Landsbergis and his team canceled the rise and in so doing earned more points, and at the same time K. Prunskiene was sent into retirement, being replaced by a more obliging premier. However, they understood that this is not enough—their popularity with the people continues to fall. Labor collectives demanded V. Landsbergis' resignation and the introduction of presidential rule, and went on strike. At some point here a real political hysteria was organized in the mass media and it reached fever pitch. Panic radio and television broadcasts electrified the people so much and stoked up the social atmosphere to such an extent that an explosion was probably inevitable. And it happened.

Of course not everything, far from everything, was done correctly. Housewife R. Aukstikalnena, whom we approached in the street, was right:

"In civilized countries disputed questions are not resolved by force of arms."

She was backed up by Vilnius worker N. Stankevich:

"The use of troops was certainly necessary, but casualties should have been avoided at all costs...."

A representative commission sent to Lithuania by the USSR Supreme Soviet is now investigating what was or was not done correctly. The legal organs will also give their assessment. However, those who took the matter to a tragic outcome by their perfidious and provocative actions must also bear their share of responsibility.

...The barricades around the republic legislature have not been taken down. As before, there are thousands of people in the square in front of it. All Lithuania is in deep sorrow. But it also hopes that the current crisis will eventually be overcome.

Reporter Recounts Experiences in Vilnius

PM1601111991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 pp 1, 3

[Correspondent V. Zarovskiy report: "Cast-Iron Argument: Tanks; Our Correspondent V. Zarovskiy Reports From Vilnius"]

[Text] Vilnius—I will never forgive myself: On Friday evening I was rushing around the places where people were on duty in a cab, I had the same kind of night on Thursday, and I fell asleep at 0130 hours on Saturday night. I would have liked to have been with them to look into the eyes of 18-year old soldiers shooting an old man, to cling to a light tank's view port, and to memorize the face of the driver who was crushing a girl. But I was sleeping even though all this was happening next door, about 300 meters away. I was sleeping while innocent people were being killed there just because they wanted to be free among the free. I awoke only when tank fire boomed out alongside the office and a pillar of fire from the barrel illuminated the bedroom. I awoke and was terrified to imagine what was going on, and then I did not believe it—no, it could not be happening, I had been there just a couple of hours ago being treated to hot tea, someone had slipped a sandwich into my hands, with people around me singing, dancing, and warming themselves by the fire—then I heard submachine-gun fire—no, I still comforted myself with the thought, how could they be firing on people—and then I rushed out onto the street and there were people lying there.

I still have the tape recording of that night. It was recorded by a friend of mine who lives nearby. As if by premonition, he put the dictaphone by the television at 0200 hours. Lithuanian Television carried a direct relay. I switched on the recording. A woman journalist was reading out Boris Yeltsin's statement saying that the situation in the Baltic has been prompted not only by domestic problems but also by the Union leadership's actions. There was music, submachine-gun fire, isolated shots, and a gun fired. Landsbergis said: "Obviously, we will soon lose our radio and television. That is a great loss in our situation but that is not all. They may stop at this, they may capture some facility every day.... Be restrained and calm. You know they are wrong. They can only act by force and the time for force cannot last forever." A journalist was shown on the television, sitting in the television center studio. "As you can see, we are still working; the military are marching around the building, admittedly, I have not seen them, we have barricaded ourselves in the studio and I cannot tell you anything else. We will show you...." Tens of thousands of people were offering prayers in Independence Square.

In the morning I went along to the television building. On this side many houses had their windows knocked out by an explosive wave, there were bullet holes, wreathes, and candles on the sidewalk—13 dead, 144 wounded—people were praying, weeping, and looking at the side of the street where tanks and armored vehicles were standing; men with submachine guns were pacing up and down; one assault trooper has been killed—by submachine-gun bullets, moreover, medics said. I saw some civilians among the military with red arm bands. I crossed to that side with my hands in my pockets. They turned their heads toward me and a soldier turned his submachine gun on me. Where had I got this from, from what movie, from what nightmare—for some reason I took my hands out of my pockets and showed that they were empty. I introduced myself, they took my crumpled papers and said that I could not go into the television center. Where are you from, I asked? From Vilnius. Who are you people on duty and what are you doing here? We are on guard, so troops are on guard, no the troops are protecting us.

Listen: At any kiosk you could buy PRAVDA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, and numerous newspapers published by "Unity" and the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform), Russian editorial staff worked on Lithuanian Radio, there was a separate Russian radio station, and television gave airtime to both Poles, Belorussians, and Russians. At the beginning of January K. Prunskiene announced officially and sent a cable to Moscow saying that the center had for some reason still not yet allocated money for war veterans' pensions and prices will rise throughout the country—that is obvious. Why kill people then? The Army has taken Russians under its protection. Does it intend to defend them for a long time? After all, the Lithuanians will not try to copy the Army after it withdraws. It will be like this: The Army itself has bred refugees. I saw a Russian woman screaming at the soldiers: "I welcomed your fathers with two buckets of milk in 1944, what are you doing now?"

Things are bad in Lithuania at the moment. No one knows where the National Salvation Committee is, and it is still not clear who its members are. They are talking with the people using armored vehicles on which bull horns have been rigged up. On Sunday there was talk of "all executive power" and the introduction of a curfew from 2200 through 0600 hours. Both sides know what might happen if the latter is introduced. All the roads approaching the legislature have been barricaded with heavy vehicles and tractors. There are roughly 800 volunteers in the building itself who will stay put till the end. The Supreme Soviet's windows and the first story have been enclosed with iron bars all around. There were roughly 20,000 people outside. The sides were pacified by members of the Council of the Federation delegation from Moscow: The military have promised not to introduce a curfew if the people outside the legislature disperse. V. Landsbergis and Cardinal V. Sladkjavicius, head of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, asked the gathering to go home in the evening. Here is a virtually verbatim text: "We Lithuanians will live together. There is no force that can divide us. If we do not meet in this square tomorrow morning, we will meet in heaven."

By midnight there were 400 persons left outside the legislature. The military remained in their barracks. An all-Lithuanian strike should have begun on Monday. The stores and the municipal telephone exchange are operating, but newspapers have not been published since the House of the Press is being occupied by assault troops. Military specialists have switched on only the Central Television First Program and that is shown irregularly. An underground radio station is broadcasting in Kaunas which it almost proved possible to jam on Sunday, but it became quite perfectly audible on Monday. Federation Council representatives are meeting with plant collectives. At present they are being very cautious, using the words "conflict" and "disturbance," thus causing irritation among Lithuanian legislative deputies. At dinner it became known that the USSR president had spoken over the telephone with the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. Mikhail Gorbachev said that he had given the military the order to admit the Lithuanian health minister to the captured buildings to see that there were no dead or injured there. The fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet representatives have special powers and can decide all questions came as the biggest surprise. Before M. Gorbachev's telephone call they said that they had only come to study the situation.

The farewell to the dead is scheduled for Tuesday.

The coffins will be placed in the Palace of Sport.

"A sorry result," A. Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Party of Labor, said. "Talks are currently under way with the delegation sent by Mikhail Gorbachev. We are waiting for the results, hoping that we will be able to reach agreement if they do possess these powers. I never expected events to take this turn. I never thought that they would deal like this with unarmed people. Whatever happens, whatever decisions are adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet, this behavior—particularly by the regular army—cannot be justified under any circumstances."

Lithuanian Law on State Enterprises

914A0191A

For the Lithuanian Law on State Enterprises published in the 24-25 October 1990 EKHO LITVY, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-91-002, 16 January 1991, pages 20-35.

Latvia

Explosion Hits Communist Party Building in Riga

LD1701230191 Moscow TASS in English 2221 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Galina Kuchina and Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga January 18 TASS— Another explosion that thundered near the building of the Latvian Communist Party's sociopolitical centre has confirmed the worst suppositions. Several hours earlier, Latvian Interior Minister Aloiz Vaznis said on television he had information that explosions should be expected in the next ten days.

In his view, explosions are staged by "destructive forces that are pressing for a presidential rule". But Latvian Prosecutor-General Janis Skrastiyns told journalists that he did not have facts of terrorists' membership of political organisations.

All this, however, does not add calmness. Trucks and buses continue to block streets, bonfires are burning near barricades to warm up people guarding major state institutions round-the-clock.

The split of society has also affected the Supreme Soviet. Views are exchanged there mostly in the form of statements. The majority group of deputies thanked all those who "voluntarily and selflessly assumed the heavy responsibilities of the defenders of democracy".

The opposition argues that "all of the so-called barricades and clogged roads in Riga were sanctioned by extremist forces in the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers and all the expenditures on these dangerous games were covered by the money taken from the pockets of the republic's residents and work collectives".

The group of deputies from the Latvian Popular Front warn that "the threat to the Latvian Republic has not yet receded" while the Ravnopraviye group calls for starting a dialogue, emphasising that "the peoples of Latvia are expecting us to give them confidence in the morrow". The first step has already been taken. A meeting of the two groups' representatives was scheduled for Thursday.

The visit by a group of USSR people's deputies will, possibly, add calmness. In fulfilling the instruction of the Soviet parliament, nine deputies arrived in Riga on Thursday. They began their first-hand look at the situation with meeting Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs. They are also planning to meet representatives of various organisations and movements, including members of the all-Latvian social salvation committee, which issued a political statement on Thursday.

The statement says, in part, that "the committee proclaims the transition of all state power into its hands until the situation is stabilised, the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and the government".

The committee entrusted to its Presidium "to form a government and submit the list of ministers for endorsement". The document also asks "the newly-formed government to suspend the resolutions by the former Latvian Government to raise prices on food and services".

The republican parliament described this statement as destabilising the situation and misinforming the population. The prosecutor-general of the Latvian Republic was asked to institute criminal proceedings.

Bus Driver Dead in Shooting Incident

LD1701213491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2030 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] The tense situation in the Latvian capital has been aggravated by a killing at one of Riga's bridges. This is what General Prosecutor J. Skrastins told our correspondent. An investigation has determined that the bridge is being guarded by unarmed civilians. Three groups of Special Purpose Militia Detachment forces subordinate to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have driven toward them. The forces have threatened unarmed people and fired shots at a passing minibus carrying children. The bus caught fire, but people were not harmed. One bullet hit the Volga driver. He died at the hospital. An innocent man has died.

Yesterday, Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, in a telephone conversation with the USSR president, asked for limiting the action of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs forces in Latvia.

'Equal Rights' Deputies Make Demands

PM1701165191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by Correspondent I. Litvinova: "Riga: Tension Persists"]

[Text] Only yesterday it seemed that the situation in Latvia was stabilizing. This was also heard in the opinion of Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers, cited in yesterday's reportage. But then on 16 January he suddenly appeared before television viewers and reported: "We now have the first casualty, and Latvian soil is stained with blood..."

On hearing this news, Supreme Soviet Deputy G. Romashov and I at once set out to see Janis Skrastins, the republic's general prosecutor. What is needed more than ever during these days is first-hand information, as the saying goes. We were delayed by a telephone call in the room where deputies of the "Equal Rights" faction are on duty around the clock. Deputy F. Stroganov lifted the receiver and heard: "Is that Dimanis' gang?" "Who is speaking?" "You will now find out." We had not had time to go down from the first floor to the ground floor before an explosion rang out. A militia detail rushed past us toward the doors. The windows were smashed, and the wall was singed by the explosion. No one was hurt.

Latvian Internal Affairs Minister Aloiz Vaznis had appeared on television two hours before the explosion which I witnessed. He said that, according to available operational data, new explosions were possible in Riga over the next 10 days. Those who carry them out want there to be human casualties. The minister urged commanders of military subunits and leaders of enterprises and organizations to step up control over their installations.

General Prosecutor J. Skrastins told us about the tragic incident reported by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The name of the victim, who died in hospital in the evening, was Murnieks. He was a driver. The prosecutor did not confirm or deny data to the effect that he was fatally injured by a shot to the head. Nevertheless, the mass media accused the "Black Berets" of this crime.

The parliamentary factions of the People's Front and "Equal Rights" have so far been meeting on neutral territory, not in the Supreme Soviet building. On the night of 15 January Janis Dinevic, chairman of the People's Front faction, came to a meeting with "Equal Rights" deputies. The "Equal Rights" deputies handed him an appeal concerning the joint communique of the Latvian People's Front faction and the Citizens Committee of the Latvian Republic, which was recently adopted in the absence of A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

"A year ago," "Equal Rights" Chairman S. Dimanis said, "the Supreme Soviet Presidium proclaimed the citizens committees an anticonstitutional organization. The hasty adoption of this document leads us to think that this radical organization has carried out a quiet coup d'etat, taking control of the Supreme Soviet. We cannot return to parliament and thereby support such unnatural 'cooperation.'"

The "Equal Rights" deputies demanded the cancellation of the communique, the removal of the barricades in Riga, and the disarming of illegal armed formations. They proposed including the questions of creating a public concord committee and creating a government of public trust on the agenda for out-of-turn discussion at the session.

The People's Front faction adopted a statement expressing "sincere gratitude to all who have voluntarily assumed the duties of defenders of democracy." In order to confirm that everything in Latvia is not at all how the USSR president portrayed it in the USSR Supreme Soviet, the People's Front appealed for every inhabitant to send him at least one protest telegram.

Latvian Committee Promises All-Out Strike

LD1701182191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Telephone report from Riga by station correspondent Innart Skuinsh]

[Text] A group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet has arrived in Riga to study the political situation in the republic. A group of deputies of the Leningrad City Soviet is also in Riga. The Supreme Soviet continues to work in commissions and factions today. The discussion of new draft laws is under way. Various public movements and parties have been meeting over the past few days. Decisions and resolutions have been adopted. Conflicting views and demands have been sharply voiced.

The Latvian republican strike committee has adopted a decision which says that it fully supports the president and the group of deputies who are workers in ending strikes. We understand, the decision says, that strikes are aggravating the country's economic situation. Nevertheless, in our circumstances, they are the last possibility for defending human rights and preventing the working people's living standards from falling further and the republic from sliding into a brown-tinged totalitarian and bourgeois regime.

The decision further states: Our strike is aimed at preserving the USSR and will be stopped after the danger of collapse of the constitutional foundations of the USSR has been removed and human rights violations have been halted. Therefore, as of today, the decision concludes, a regimen of full and all-out strike has been introduced.

All the industrial, construction, and transport enterprises functioned in the republic today.

Gorbunovs Phones Gorbachev on Situation

LD1701202991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] The information service of the Latvian Supreme Soviet reports that yesterday, Gorbunovs, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, held a telephone conversation with USSR President Gorbachev. Gorbunovs informed the president about the situation in Latvia, the dialogue being carried out between various political movements and parties, and how the Latvian Government is correcting the errors made during the foodstuff price increases. Gorbunovs asked the USSR president to limit the actions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops and the special designation police detachments.

The information service of the Latvian Supreme Soviet reports that President Gorbachev expressed the hope that the situation in Latvia will be stabilized peacefully.

Minister on Alternative Government Reports

LD1701193691 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1700 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Edmunds Johansons, chairman of the State Security Committee, warned at a government session that after the meeting organized by the Interfront another government would be formed in the Republic of Latvia. This is what has happened. Daiga Rembusa today invited Viktors Skudra, Latvian justice minister, to the microphone:

[Begin recording] [Rembusa] Well, it could be said that the radio of Rubiks has just announced that another, alternative government has been formed in Riga. What does the justice minister think in this connection?

[Skudra] As a member of the government, I do not want to touch upon this question at all, because there are claims against the very status of the government which I am a member of.

[Rembusa] Well, yes, but on the other hand you are a member of a government elected democratically.

[Skudra] But here I can also speak as a jurist that the same Salvation Committee is basing itself as it were upon the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution, in fact, crudely transgressing against this Constitution, because the Latvian SSR Constitution lays down that all power belongs to the soviets elected by the people and that the highest organ of state power is the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted] [end recording]

USSR Legislative Commission in Latvia for Talks

LD1701174191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1712 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] A few hours ago a commission from the USSR Supreme Soviet arrived in Latvia. It will acquaint itself with the political situation in the republic. The chairman of the commission told our correspondent that there has already been a meeting with Anatolijs Gorbunovs. Meetings and conversations are envisaged with the minority parliamentary factions, with the leaders of special militia detachments ["Black Berets"], and with people on the streets. The commission, under the leadership of Deputy Denisov, will spend another two days in Latvia. It will regularly report on the results of its activities to USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Liepaja Soldiers Reject Using Arms on Residents

LD1701202591 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] Yesterday evening members of the Liepaja city board and Mayor (Imants Vismins), met with the inhabitants of the military residential area, unit commanders, and the leaders of the city's military garrison. A broad range of questions was discussed, mainly considering how the city can help inhabitants of the Navy port solve their painful social questions. In the course of the meeting, various rumors were dispelled. The leaders of the military garrison announced that under no circumstances would it use arms against the city's inhabitants.

Outside Liepaja, workers of the rayon's executive committee met the Army units stationed in the rayon a few days ago. The commanders of several units rejected the possibility that their subordinates would interfere in settling the internal policy questions of Latvia.

Pugo Agrees To Talks After Latvian Ultimatum

AU1801095491 Paris AFP in English 0853 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Riga, Latvia, Jan 17 (AFP)—Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo has agreed to talks with Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs after the pro-independence leader ordered Interior Ministry special troops out of the republic, Latvian radio said Friday.

But the radio gave no date for the talks involving Mr. Pugo, a former Latvian Communist Party chief and local KGB head. The Interior Ministry in Moscow would not confirm the report.

In a telegram to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev late Thursday, Mr. Gorbunovs said that unless measures were taken to "stop the actions of this unit, our concerns for the population will force us to liquidate this group of bandits".

The special unit, known as the "Black Berets", Wednesday [16 January] shot dead a 39-year old truck driver manning a barricade in the Riga suburbs, erected to avert a military crackdown against the nationalist government.

Mr. Gorbunovs sent the telegram after a telephone conversation with Mr. Gorbachev in which he asked the Soviet president to neutralise the "Black Berets" who were "destabilising the situation in the republic".

The Latvian Government meanwhile rejected as "disinformation" a declaration by a National Salvation Committee, published by the Russian language daily SOVETSKAYA LATVIA, in which it stated its intention to seize power.

A delegation from the Supreme Soviet, the full-time parliament in Moscow, sent to Riga said the 76-member Committee "does not reflect reality". A delegation deputy told reporters here that there was "no reason" for military action against the Latvian Government.

The Latvians fear a crackdown after last Sunday's military assault on the television station in Vilnius, the capital of neighbouring Lithuania, in which 14 people were killed.

Thousands of Latvians stayed out in the streets guarding the parliament and other strategic buildings Thursday for the fifth straight night, an AFP reporter said.

The nationalists continue to replace barricades of trucks and buses blocking the narrow streets of the old city by concrete walls four metres (12 feet) high. For the first time since the fortifications began, two Latvians protected by bullet-proof jackets and armed with automatic rifles stood guard inside the parliament building on Thursday.

President To Tour Scandinavia, European Capitals

AU1801094191 Paris AFP in English 0938 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Riga, Latvia, Jan 18 (AFP)—Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs is to visit Stockholm, London and Paris next week to "plead for Latvian independence", Latvian Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Ludmila Gulitina said Friday.

Mr. Gorbunovs would join Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans in Stockholm on Tuesday for talks on Wednesday with Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, she told an AFP correspondent.

He would travel to London Thursday to meet British Prime Minister John Major and then on to Paris to see French President Francois Mitterrand.

Mr. Gorbunovs' tour comes as his elected pro-independence government fears a crackdown by Soviet forces following last Sunday's army assault against the television tower in Vilnius, the capital of neighbouring Lithuania, in which 14 people died.

Riga 'Under Siege'; Stabilization Efforts Cited

PM1701115991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Report by Colonel M. Ziyeminysh under "Direct Line" rubric: "In Anticipation of a Coup"]

[Text] Riga—Nowadays, Latvia's capital looks like a city under siege. There are barricades on the streets and bonfires burning. The city's bridges—its main lifelines—are blocked by tractors, trailers, and articulated trucks, which can be found in identical "formations" around so-called strategic objects: government buildings, legislature buildings, the radio station, and the television studios. Republic radio is broadcasting around the clock and the programs consist for the main part of up-to-the-minute information on events in and around the Baltic states.

The activities of representatives of the military organization are under particular control. There are announcements about literally every movement made by military transport. All of this information makes its way swiftly to the republic defense headquarters, which would appear to have been set up to coordinate the efforts being undertaken just now...

So what lies at the bottom of this feverish activity?

In this highly tense atmosphere it is practically useless to look to officials for answers. Nobody will say anything definite. Instead, it is strongly rumored that there exists a "single scenario for forcibly overthrowing the democratically elected legislatures and governments of all three Baltic republics."

But who is in the director's chair? Moscow, of course. The actors have been named as "CPSU subordinates in the republics" who "have close links with representatives of the military-industrial complex." It is in this context that all recent speeches by USSR People's Deputy Colonel V. Alksnis are being examined. The tragic events in Lithuania have merely poured oil on the flames.

Sunday 13 January the Latvian legislature met for an extraordinary session in which an urgent appeal to the people of the republic was adopted. "Victims of Lithuania," says the document's preamble, "reports about the preparation of anti-Soviet coups by militarists in the rest of the Baltic states show that the Soviet Union's floundering administrative-bureaucratic system has resorted to this final means of self-preservation—open use of weapons against peaceful inhabitants. The reactionary forces themselves are trying by force of arms to regain the power they lost at the elections." One of the conclusions runs: "All available means must be used to paralyze Communist Party activity and to defend one's family, especially children and old people, and one's home from all attacks by armed gangs".

Incidentally, all schools and higher education establishments have suspended classes for the time being. Practically on that very same Sunday the barricades began to go up. And on that very same Sunday many of the hundreds of thousands of republic inhabitants who participated in the Daugava Embankment demonstration, which was conceived as a show of support for the legislature and government, found they had become participants in a "defensive" action.

The republic legislature is currently in constant session. The "Equal Rights" faction, which supports the Latvian Communist Party's stance, has submitted a plan to stabilize the situation in the republic. In particular, it advocates the abolition of all laws and resolutions violating human rights, including servicemen's rights, and all those pertaining to price rises for food products and to changes in the composition of the cabinet, which is supposed to represent the interests of all strata of the population.

Other efforts to stabilize the situation in the republic are being undertaken. A. Gorbunovs, Supreme Soviet chairman, met 14 January with representatives of all sociopolitical currents in the republic.

The signing in Tallinn of an agreement on the basic guidelines for cooperation between Russia and Latvia was a surprise to many. This document was ratified by the Latvian legislature 14 January.

An appeal by B. Yeltsin, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet chairman, to soldiers, sergeants, and officers drafted into the Army on the territory of the Russian Federation but currently serving in the Baltic republics elicited a broad but mixed response in the republic.. Military personnel are being asked to uphold the RSFSR Constitution.

At the very moment that these lines are being written, another rally is being prepared in Riga.

Rubiks Addresses 15 Jan Riga Rally

PM1701164191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondents I. Belan and A. Orlov report: "January of Our Fear"]

[Excerpt] Riga, 15 Jan—[passage omitted] The day's main event was the alternative rally held at the Army Sports Club Stadium. It was organized by practically the entire left-wing bloc of sociopolitical forces within the republic: the International Front of Working People, the Latvian Communist Party, the strike committee, the United Council of Labor Collectives, the veterans' council, and so on. The rally and the preparations for it had aroused such passions that a few hours before it began a televised appeal by A. Gorbunovs, Latvian Supreme Soviet chairman, was broadcast.

The head of the legislature explained how he had been maintaining permanent contact with all social movements as well as with the leadership of the Baltic Military District in an effort to avoid the emergence of a conflict situation.

"The commander has assured me that the troops in the area have no plans for a military coup," Gorbunovs noted. "For its part, the Supreme Soviet is trying to resolve Army grievances constructively and this morning suspended the Supreme Soviet resolution of 14 November last year, which had prompted particularly strong objections from the military."

"Nevertheless, the atmosphere remains tense," the head of the legislature stressed. "As you know, today at 1500 an alternative rally will take place at the Army Sports Club Stadium, and Riga's city militia will be present to maintain law and order during, and in the vicinity of, the rally. Those who are not participating in this rally are asked to refrain from obstructing it in any way."

Tens of thousands of people gathered at the Army Sports Club Stadium. On our way there, on what used to be called Lenin Street, we passed rows of trucks and motor vehicles full of people promoting different viewpoints and waving national flags and protest banners.

But at the stadium other flags, the flags of Soviet Latvia, could be seen. And other banners: "Government—Resign!" "No to Price Rises," "Republic Does Not Need Civil War," and so on...

These slogans also reflected the basic content of the speeches. The speech by A. Rubiks, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and USSR and republic-level people's deputy, received ovations from the crowd. First in Latvian and then in Russian, he addressed the rally in the capacity of cochairman of the Latvian Committee for Public Salvation: "Can we still believe those promises so often repeated by parliamentarians and representatives from the majority factions? Time and again they have promised us a calm and peaceful life, equal rights... But in actual fact, every day they have adopted laws infringing these rights..." The demands of the Latvian Communist Party were also voiced at the rally: The main ones being to support the viewpoints of the republic strike committee and the numerous labor collectives on repealing laws and resolutions which do not correspond to the USSR and the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitutions and the USSR presidential decrees; and to introduce presidential rule in Latvia in order to avoid bloodshed.

After his speech we asked A. Rubiks several questions:

"What can the republic expect—a further exacerbation of the situation or steps toward agreement?"

"I still hope that, after seeing and hearing today's rally, the government will listen to us and try to settle matters peacefully. We think it should resign for not honoring its promises..."

"If the opportunity arose for you to address the Russians and the Russian Communists, what would you say to them?"

"I know that Russia and its communists are experiencing the very same thing we experienced about a year ago. I hope that the Russians will consolidate more rapidly and that the communists will emerge more swiftly from the stupor which once overwhelmed us all. What we are doing is right, for we are internationalists..."

The rally finished in the evening. A resolution was adopted. Once again on the way back to the correspondents' office we passed through rows of motor vehicles and people denouncing the decisions adopted at the rally.

Estonia

Reports View Efforts To Enforce Draft

Estonian Call-Up Violates Law

LD1701120391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1128 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn, 17 Jan (TASS)—The government of Estonia intends to set up its own Armed Forces from servicemen of the reserve airborne troops.

Today the local news media carried an appeal from the Department of State Frontier Defense of the State Chancellery of the Estonian Republic to Estonians who are former Soviet paras, calling on them to come to the hall of the Economics Ministry in Tallinn today.

The statement affirms that the situation which has taken shape in Estonia "does not rule out the interference of the USSR Armed Forces in the Republic's Affairs." "You who have served in the airborne troops of the Soviet Army have the relevant knowledge and experience which we may have occasion to need."

If these Armed Forces are set up, this will be a violation of the USSR Constitution and relevant decrees of the president.

Defense Official Comments

LD1701130691 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Report by TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—A Soviet Defence Ministry delegation led by deputy chief of the Soviet General Staff Colonel General Grigoriy Krivosheyev returned from Tallinn.

In accordance with an agreement between Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Soviet Defence Minister Marshall Dmitriy Yazov, issues, pertaining to relations between the Republic and the Army, including problems connected with the drafting of youths of Estonian nationality to active duty, were discussed.

A TASS correspondent asked Krivosheyev to comment on the results of the trip to Estonia. It was said that on the whole all questions raised by the sides during the discussion were resolved positively.

From now on, some draftees from Estonia will serve on the territory of the Republic, others will be sent to training units of the district. Many will continue serving in the units of the Baltic Military District after completing training.

The Soviet defence minister gave corresponding orders. The commander of the troops of the Baltic Military District informed Estonian authorities about this. After agreements that have been reached are discussed in the republican legislature they will enter into force.

Compromise Reached

PM1701125191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent G. Sapozhnikova under the general heading: "The Baltic. Four Days On"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Supreme Soviet and the USSR Defense Council finally reached a compromise yesterday on the question of drafting young men for military service. The following was decided: Let young men serve on Estonian territory and train at training centers in Latvia. A promise has been made not to institute criminal proceedings against deserters (there are 303 in the republic) and "dodgers" (people who have failed to show at the military commissariat or at the commission for alternative service—there are roughly 1,000 of them); they will be sent to troop units stationed in Estonia. What is more, USSR Defense Ministry representatives have given assurances that force will not be used to implement the draft.

In addition to the coordinating commission (everything indicates that it is an ideological "relative" of the Latvian and Lithuanian salvation committees) an Extraordinary Defense Council headed by Ruutel, U. Nugis, and Prime Minister E. Savisaar has been set up in the republic. A committee for working in the extraordinary situation has also been founded by the government. Incidentally, the government made a small concession at the beginning of the week: It froze prices for products and services (after having raised them well in advance). But the concession was so small that no one noticed. Long-standing opponents of Estonian independence are still making the same demands: The resignation or, at worst, the reorganization of the government, the reduction of prices to last year's level, and the abrogation of decisions and decrees that violate the rights of the non-Estonian minority.

Estonian Leader Will Continue Talks With Gorbachev

LD1801105391 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 18 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn January 18 TASS—In response to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to continue the dialogue between the centre and Estonia, the Presidium of the republican legislature instructed Arnold Ryuytel, president of the Estonian legislature, to immediately enter into contact with Gorbachev.

This decision was taken at a meeting of the republican legislature Presidium. It is so far unknown how the contact will be established and what documents were considered at the Presidium's meeting in this connection.

Meanwhile the situation in the republic is calm in general despite an anti-government strike, a hunger strike by two opposition deputies and the formation of workers' squads by strikers.

While the beginning of a strike at Dvigatel and Prompribor plants is being reported, others discuss the strike issue at meetings.

Radio Station's Appeal for 'Combat Squads' Condemned

LD1701160191 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1500 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Today in Toompea, the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic spent the day on discussing the statement of deputies Sergey Petinov and Vladimir Lebedev. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, a disconcerting piece of news was reported about the Nadezhda radio station appeals—in two languages—to form combat squads to deliver a last, decisive blow. Thereafter, Sergey Petinov and Vladimir Lebedev took the floor and condemned this kind of an appeal from the radio station. They appealed for calm from their supporters. [passage omitted]

Radios Tuned to Supreme Soviet on Estonia

LD1701174791 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Report by special correspondent Andrey Trapeznikov: "The Situation in Estonia"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet session is the main event today, at least in the capital. The interest with which Tallinn residents are following the session can be compared, perhaps, with the way we all followed the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Television and radio sets are switched on in all shops and state establishments, let alone private apartments. This is natural, since the session is being held in a period of an exacerbated political situation in the republic. In the evening, of course, everybody impatiently awaits comments and evaluations.

The session started at 1000 and was almost entirely devoted to yesterday's statement by two deputies, Petinov and Lebedev, which they addressed to the Supreme Soviet. In the statement, the deputies put forward proposals and demanded that the Supreme Soviet examine them and urgently adopt a decision, that is, within a day. The proposals boil down to the following: First, to examine the demands put forward by labor collectives and electors of the republic to the Estonian Supreme Soviet and the government at the rally on 15 January. Second, to submit the laws adopted by the republican supreme legislative body over the past two years for a juridical evaluation by the UN Human Rigths Committee. Third, to rescind the 16 August 1990 decision of the Tallinn City Executive Committee regarding restrictions on housing allocation. Last: To develop a mechanism for taking into account the views of the legislative minority, including a right to veto draft laws violating the rights and freedoms of individual. If the Supreme Soviet refuses to deal with these matters, the deputies announced yesterday that they would go on a hunger strike from the next day.

Yesterday the Supreme Soviet started discussing this statement but, eventually decided to postpone the issue until today's meeting. Thus, formally, the demand of the deputies was not complied with, and today they sat on my right with bottles of mineral water on the tables.

Meanwhile, the legislature discussed their proposals for several hours. Quite a few sharp and critical remarks were made about the statement itelf and the deputies' position. As a result, the session adopted a decision to instruct the editorial commission to review all proposals and submit them for examination at the next meeting.

Finally, a report came to the end of today's meeting that the Nadezhda radio station deployed on the territory of a military unit in Estonia—incidentally, the existence of this radio station is not recognized by the constitutional legislature of the republic—called on labor collectives to set up armed detachements as the ultimate means of protecting their interests. In this situation the deputies on hunger strike took a very correct and sensible stand. They said that they did not support the call made by the Nadezhda, and asked all their supporters to show calm. They said their lives were not threatened within the legislature.

The thing is that now the deputies are inside the legislature building in order to avoid emotions in the streets, and they asked people not to gather at the castle gates. The only wish they voiced was to allow representatives of the Supreme Soviets of Russia and Estonia as well as representatives of the International Red Cross to visit them. So, the session today ended very peacefully and within the framework of politial dialogue. The situation in the republic has not been fully normalized.

Estonian Legislature Views General Strikes

PM1701164591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent L. Levitskiy: "So—A Strike?"]

[Text] Tallinn—Yulo Nugis, speaker of the legislature has warned of the likelihood of the introduction of presidential rule in the Baltic region. He said reassuringly: The Defense Council created on Sunday has discussed a program of actions in that event.

That was how the routine sitting of the Estonian legislature began. Tension subsequently subsided. Discussion of the law on communications, a document which has yellowed with age since its first reading, was resumed. Deputies found a few minutes to confirm Deputy Speaker Marya Lauristin as Estonian Supreme Soviet representative in foreign states.

Then the calm was broken again. The detonator here was a statement by Deputy S. Petinov. He accused the Supreme Soviet of adopting law after law discriminating against the Russophone population, but over a whole year legislature had not found the time to discuss a law on the protection of ethnic minorities' rights. Petinov proposed the immediate discussion of the demands by participants in the rally on Toompea Hill, that laws adopted in the past two years be sent to the United Nations for expert scrutiny, that the unlawful decision by Tallinn City Soviet depriving tens of thousands of people of the right to housing be rescinded, and that a mechanism to safeguard the opinion of ethnic minorities be activated in legislature urgently. If deputies reject these demands, Petinov said, he and Deputy V. Lebedev will declare a political hunger strike right there in the legislature hall.

At midday Wednesday, Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Ruutel and Speaker Y. Nugis met with members of the coordinating committee—the organizers of the rally on Toompea Hill. A. Ruutel reaffirmed his stance: The demands will be examined in accordance with the norms of the Supreme Soviet Presidium's work. At this point dialogue ended. Later the coordinating council adopted a decision on the beginning of a general strike in Estonia.

Late Wednesday evening, I was at the council of directors of Tallinn enterprises, where the Russophone population is mainly employed. Purely economic problems were discussed. First and foremost, a mechanism of prices and taxes in the republic. In the directors' opinion, the pressure of taxation was such that 75 percent of profit will be channeled into the republic's budget. Enterprises have been brought to the verge of bankruptcy. Of course, a strike is not the best means of resolving economic problems. After lengthy debates the enterprise leaders agreed to support the labor collectives' decision on the beginning of a general strike in the republic.

So, we have strikes....

Estonian Russian-Speaking Citizens Group Formed

LD1701214491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Kh. Lenk, from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A coordinating committee has been set up to tackle the problems facing some of Estonia's Russian-speaking population.

[Begin recording] [Lenk] The members of the committee are representatives of various political movements and organizations representing the interests of some of the Russian-speaking population such as Intermovement [interdvizheniye], the united council of labor collectives, and the Communist Party of Estonia on the CPSU platform. The deputies belonging to the committee have notified the Republic's Supreme Soviet of their demands. One of the main points of their document is a demand that there be changes in the composition of Estonia's cabinet of ministers and that a new government of people's concord be formed.

[P.N. Panfilov] I do not want to be prime minister or president of Estonia. That is impossible. Estonians must govern Estonia.

[Lenk] But what if you were offered the post of prime minister?

[Panfilov] Thanks, but I would never accept it, because I consider that both the prime minister and the president and the absolute majority of ministers should be Estonians. Estonia should be governed by Estonians. The most important thing is for a government to appear that would be equally concerned about all the people who reside in the republic. That is all.

[Lenk] Incidentally, Vladimir Lebedev, a member of the coordinating committee, together with his colleague, Sergey Petinov, a deputy of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, today began a hunger strike in a bid to draw the public's attention to the situation in the republic. [end recording]

Reports Focus on Various Baltics Issues

Deadlock Over Draft Noted

PM1701101791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

["Topical Interview" with Colonel General F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "To Find a Way Out of the Impasse"—first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] As already reported in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, in certain parts of the country the USSR Ministry of Defense has taken a number of practical measures to fulfill the USSR presidential decree of 1 December 1990 "On Certain Acts Relating to Defense Questions Adopted in Union Republics." This concerns, in particular, stepping up practical assistance for military commissariats in resolving the tasks entrusted to them of drafting citizens for active military service, as well as organizing the search for and return of servicemen who have gone absent without leave from military units.

Our correspondent talks about how this work is being done in the Baltic republics with Colonel General F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Figures relating to the unsatisfactory course of the fall draft into the ranks of the Armed Forces are appearing in the press. In particular, this figure stands at 25.3 percent for Latvia, 24.5 percent for Estonia, and 12.5 percent for Lithuania. But this is expressed in percentages. I would, however, like to know more specifically what lies behind these figures, how they have affected the manning of the Armed Forces with young reinforcements....

[Kuzmin] As can be seen from the cited figures, negative trends predominate in all three Baltic republics in the approach to manning the Armed Forces with young reinforcements. Of course, we must discuss, above all, the extent of the personnel shortfall in the soldiers' ranks because of this. The extent and the reason for it. In terms of specific figures the picture appears as follows: In Latvia, for example, 8,772 young men of draft age preferred so-called alternative service on the republic's territory to service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces. Precisely 1,685 people evaded all service. To this you must add the 205 servicemen who went absent without leave from military units or, to put it more simply, deserters, whom not only relatives and friends but also certain soft-hearted public organizations have taken under their wing. Over the past year Estonia failed to supply the Armed Forces with 8,814 young people of draft age. Once again a considerable proportion of that number, namely 1,086 people, refused to fulfill their military duty in the ranks of the Armed Forces and also to perform the alternative service provided for in republican legislation. The picture appears still less favorable in Lithuania.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In speaking of the abnormal situation which has been created, we evidently cannot overlook the causes....

[Kuzmin] In general, they are well known. What is today being called the "laws war" is particularly noticeable in the Baltic republics. Literally all the republics' legislatures have adopted legislative acts which run counter to Union legislation on questions of the country's defense. A kind of juridical basis, so to speak, has been created in order to call the Soviet Army on these republics' territory none other than an Army of "occupation." This is how the situation was described in the USSR president's appeal to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet: "The situation is essentially becoming deadlocked. The need for a way out of the present situation dictates that measures be taken without delay...."

Under these conditions the situation with regard to the Army draft logically fits in with the overall sociopolitical situation in the republics. If the state manages to demonstrate that a violation of the law will not go unpunished, people will regain their respect for the law. Under these conditions appeals similar to the one that Riga resident A. Krusts made in the press are being heard increasingly frequently. "I appeal to all sober-minded fellow citizens of all nations," this letter states. "It is time to stop persecuting, insulting, and accusing the Soviet Army, it is time we all sobered up and made the transition from emotions and a passion for rallies to common sense, amicability, tolerance, and help for our Army."

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Against this background expressions similar to those heard recently at the rally held by the Latvian Women's League in downtown Riga sound a discordant note. This was said, for example. "Our sons are threatened with captivity, which is called drafting into the Army," and "the barrels of submachine guns show us all the way to go now...." All this was heard over the air from the lips of people well known in the republic, including people's deputies....

[Kuzmin] Let who says what remain on everyone's conscience. But special mention must be made of the role of the mass media in fueling anti-Army sentiments. Latvian radio and also certain press publications, for example, have claimed that "during these anxious days particular tension reigns in families where there are draft-age youths." To confirm this thought, an example was cited from the Latvian city of Talsi, where "paratroopers specially sent to Latvia" have allegedly begun "picking up guys of appropriate age right off the streets." According to the data at my disposal, the report clearly did not tally with reality. Neither are there any paratroopers on the rayon's territory—I know—nor have I, as district commander, issued any instructions with regard to "picking up" young people of draft age. An investigation was conducted without delay. What did it turn up? A young man, a certain Atis Abele, had simply decided to go absent from work and, as an excuse, invented a story of being kidnapped and humiliated by soldiers.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Yet, how is the question of the draft being resolved in practice today? For the opinion is rife that paratroopers are catching young people "like rabbits."

[Kuzmin] I can say one thing: The draft problem is being resolved as usual. Induction centers are operating to receive and send off the young reinforcements. All draftees liable to be drafted for military service and not having the right of deferment have been handed summonses indicating the time to report to induction centers. According to preliminary data, more than 200 people in Estonia have reported to military commissariats, more than 100 in Latvia.... But once again, as before, the process is being held up by legislative obstacles or other decisions of local authorities. In one of its recent documents, for example, the Latvian Supreme Soviet suggested to the district command the joint elaboration of a procedure for military commissariats and local soviets to realize the republic Law on Alternative (Labor) Service, "also bearing in mind questions of the institution of proceedings against persons evading the fulfillment of laws on alternative and military service, as well as establishing a procedure for examining the complaints and statements of servicemen drafted from Latvia who have left their place of service because of intolerable conditions."

I will not comment on the stylistic formulation of that legislative proposal but will say something else, namely: How is it possible to fulfill even this proposal if local soviets in a number of rayons of the republic have adopted resolutions which rule out the practical fulfillment of the Supreme Soviet's intention? Here, for example, is what is stated in the decision of Yekabpilsskiy Rayon Soviet of 21 December 1990. "The fulfillment of orders and instructions from military commissariats located in the city of Jekabpils is to cease as of 1 January 1991. The rayon soviet executive committee is not to allocate funds from the rayon budget for the maintenance of the military commissariat." These are the kinds of mutually exclusive approaches.

For my part I can say that we are endeavoring to resolve the question of drafting young people without violence. But in this situation not only the military must show respect for the law, sober realism, and common sense.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Thank you for the interview.

Norway To Provide Economic Aid

LD1701180191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Thorvald Stoltenberg announced on Wednesday that Norway has decided to give economic aid worth nine million kroner to the Baltic republics. The head of the Norwegian foreign policy department announced that the funds will be spent on supporting democratic reforms, protecting the environment, and providing humanitarian aid. The distribution of funds will be put in the hands of Norwegian public organizations which maintain close ties with the Baltic republics. It is intended to spend part of the money on the maintenance of the Lithuanian information bureau in the Norwegian capital and providing technical equipment for the Lithuanian news agency ELTA.

Baltics Paper Published

LD1701133791 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1211 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Today a scheduled issue of the NEZAVISIMAYA BALTIYSKAYA GAZETA [Independent Baltic Newspaper] is being printed, the first this year, which may be circulated tonight among the defenders of the center of Riga, and tomorrow will appear freely on sale. The capability of the printing press which prints the paper is restricted. So it will be reprinted each day in a run of 10,000 copies. The first 20,000 will be distributed in Latvia, and the rest will supply truthful information to the Union. [passage omitted]

RSFSR

Communist Party Issues Statement on Lithuania

LD1701220191 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Politburo of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee has expressed deep concern over the events in Lithuania that caused human casualties. In a statement released here today, the party puts the blame for the tragic development of events "on those politicians who, once in power, divide their citizens on national and religious grounds and put them in unequal conditions in terms of fundamental human rights and freedoms."

By betraying the restructuring process to renew socialism, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and Government deceived their electors, launched attempts to revive bourgeois order and actually brought the republic to economic and political collapse.

The Politburo denounced the stance of the leaders of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, who, as the Politburo thinks, actually joined ranks with forces which are leading the Baltic republics towards a breakup of the USSR and their linkup with neo-fascist forces.

The statement stridently criticises Russian President Boris Yeltsin, whose statements, the Politburo says, are adding to political and social tension in the country and pushing matters towards an actual breakup of the Union.

Russian Vice President Comments on Gulf War

LD1701132691 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Russian Vice-President Ruslan Khasbulatov today expressed concern about the turn of events in the Gulf.

He said that leaders of the Russian parliament held an emergency meeting today to discuss the "fairly difficult" international and domestic situation.

They stressed the need for measures "to put an end to the hostilities and bring strong political and diplomatic pressure on Saddam Husayn to leave a foreign land", Khasbulatov said.

President Mikhail Gorbachev said on national television today that the Soviet leadership made vigorous efforts until the very last minutes "to avert war and restore independence to Kuwait by political means".

He said the national leadership "will adopt every measure towards an early end to the war and the restoration of peace, in cooperation with other countries and the United Nations".

Russian Supreme Soviet To Convene 21 Jan

LD1701144191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1414 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow 17 Jan (TASS)—The third session of the Supreme Soviet (legislature) of the Russian Federation will start a week earlier than scheduled. At the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium which took place today, a decision was adopted on changing the beginning of the session from 29 to 21 January 1991.

Ruslan Khasbulatov, first deputy head of the Russian parliament who is chairing the Presidium, stressed in an interview with a TASS correspondent that the decision on the transfer was determined in particular by "the rather complicated international conditions and the internal situation in the USSR."

Popov, Sobchak Head 'Congress of Compatriots'

LD1601005991 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 15 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Petrov]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—A new public organisation, the Congress of Compatriots, that is being created in Russia, will attract fellow-countrymen living abroad to solve political, economic and humanitarian problems, Mikhail Tolstoy, co-chairman of the congress' organisational committee, said on Monday.

Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, his counterpart from Leningrad Anatoliy Sobchak and historian Yuriy Afanasyev have also been elected co-chairmen of the committee.

A constituent conference of the congress will be held in August in Leningrad.

The congress plans to open a publishing house, a newspaper and offices in and outside the country.

Among the strategic tasks of the congress is the foundation of the Russian House, which will incorporate hotels, a training centre, exhibition halls and subsidiaries in other countries.

Tolstoy told TASS that the Congress of Compatriots differs from the similar Rodina organisation by its "non-political stance and the refusal to judge fellow-countrymen abroad by their loyalty to the Soviet system".

RSFSR Plans for Prices, Compensation Viewed

914D0108A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 1, 9 Jan 90 p 7

[Article by M. Loginov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA legislative observer for economic questions: "When Will Prices Change: The View From the Parliament of Russia"]

[Text] "No, allow us to do it ourselves!" said the members of the Russia parliament, and the 14 November decree of the USSR Council of Ministers introducing free prices on several consumer goods did not go into effect on the territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

The Russian cabinet was charged with working out its own plan before the new year, and on 28 December Gennadiy Filshin announced to the deputies the government's intentions regarding prices and wages.

"Abandon hope all ye who enter here"—the deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers could have begun his speech with these words. An increase in prices is unavoidable; no one should have any illusions on that count. Preparations for the price reform should require two to three months according to G. Filshin. So no later than the second quarter of 1991... If, of course, a blow is not delivered earlier. For example, according to Gennadiy Innokentyevich, the gap between price changes in different republics should not exceed five days. The actions of the other republics, declared the vice president of Russia, will affect us.

It is good that the Government of the RSFSR has attempted to break down its views on the problem of pricing into several similar systems. All consumer goods are divided into three groups: Prime food necessities (bread, milk, meat, butter, etc.—11 items in all), prime non-food necessities (15 items), and all the remaining goods.

The matter is clear enough with "all the remaining goods." By the end of 1991 70 percent of prices on "all the remaining goods" will become free and so-called upper limits will be established on the other 30 percent.

Things are more complicated with "prime necessities." Take foods. Version number one: Leave everything as it is—low state prices and subsidies to producers. But after the recent increase in wholesale and purchase prices, the burden of subsidies is getting beyond the republic's strength. Version number two: Let prices go and pay compensation to you and me—the consumers. That corresponds more to the spirit of reform. But, apparently, when the government estimated how many billions would be poured into compensation in that event... then version number three was born—a compromise version. According to it, we will establish upper limits on food prices that will be higher than today's store prices but lower than current market prices. Let meat, for example, cost 7-9 rubles [R] per kilogram. What is wrong with this version? Not only the fact that it does not avoid either the compensation (although the total is smaller) or the dissatisfaction of the population (prices still increase) or the possibility of "playing" on the difference between market and nonmarket prices. Here, it seems to me, the Russian Government is trying to be a little cunning. It will pay compensation on the basis of R7-9, and what guarantees are there that meat may be bought at a price that is substantially below market price?

Now about the concluding part of G. Filshin's speech. Having dashed one illusion, it seems to me that the deputy prime minister began to sow others. Primarily, he promised "preventive indexing"—that is, to pay compensation approximately a month before price increases. The element of surprise will be lost. "Preventive indexing" will lead to a new outburst of panic buying which, in turn, will entail a still greater increase in prices than expected. In this fashion the bonus given to the population will immediately be "taken into account" by the market, which will not lead to anything but irritation.

How does that tie in with one other thesis of G. Filshin—that reform must not be carried out while the shelves are empty? For many months the deputies and the press have been discussing the problems of the consumer market and have come to a sort of agreement: One of the reasons for its present collapse is the inflexible, archaic system of formation of prices or, more accurately, designation of prices. We will never fill the shelves at the current prices...

For the time being a decision on the report of G. Filshin has not been made. I fear, however, that the longer a decision is put off, the greater the chance that in the end the deputies will simply have to confirm the verdict delivered by the economy: A substantial increase in prices, no "full" compensation, and a decline in the standard of living.

Moscow Gorkom Changes Outlined

PM1701105591 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 91 p 1

[Interview with V. Nosov, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorkom Commission for Questions of Organizational Party Work, by I. Kosarev; place and date of interview not stated; first paragraph is introduction: "What the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Will Be Like in the New Year"]

[Text] The press has already reported the forthcoming reorganization of the structure of the party gorkom [city committee]. Today V. Nosov, deputy chairman of the gorkom commission for questions of organizational party work, describes the thrust and point of the innovations..

[Kosarev] Vladimir Borisovich, what in your view has caused the changes which will take place in the Moscow CPSU Gorkom?

[Nosov] It is said among the people: Everything flows, everything changes. Recently our life and, consequently, the gorkom's working conditions have changed considerably. Reorganization is the desire to comply with present conditions of life and new tasks.

[Kosarev] What avenues of work do you consider the most topical today?

[Nosov] These avenues can be surmised from the names of the commissions which the Moscow CPSU Gorkom is creating:

—for organizational party work;
—for collaboration with the soviets of people's deputies;
—ideological;
—for socioeconomic problems and collaboration with the workers' movement;
—for collaboration with sociopolitical structures and youth and women's movements.

[Kosarev] Allow me to ask one question: Why has the workers movement not been with the youth and women's movements?

[Nosov] In resolving the question in precisely this way, we considered the fact that economic interests are to a considerable degree the basis of the workers movement and collaboration with it has therefore been assigned to the economic commission.

[Kosarev] The oversight of particular avenues of the gorkom's activity by its secretaries has never formally been a secret but at the same time has never been completely clear to the city's communists. How is the sphere of competence of the newly elected secretaries allocated?

[Nosov] I shall begin with the fact that the actual number of secretaries has been reduced, there are now not six of them but five. And they oversee the following avenues of work:

Yu. Prokofyev, as first secretary of the gorkom, is responsible for organizing the work of the bureau and secretariat and coordinates the activity of the gorkom apparatus;

N. Andreyanova is responsible for work with public organizations and sociopolitical movements. Collaboration with youth and women's movements and veterans' organizations;

L. Vartazarova is responsible for the city party organization's ideological and propaganda activity;

V. Kuznetsov is responsible for the implementation of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom's socioeconomic policy;

V. Shantsev is responsible for organizational party and cadres work, work with the soviets, and the party organization's parliamentary activity.

[Kosarev] Knowing the universal close attention toward the activity of the party committees' apparatuses, I want to ask: Will there be a reduction in the Moscow CPSU Gorkom apparatus?

[Nosov] Yes, the number of workers will be reduced from 217 to 174. In addition there will respecialization of the actual type of activity of the apparatus. Now instead of issuing instructions the gorkom apparatus will consult party workers and communists on questions of interest to them. Correspondingly, instead of the posts of instructors and responsible organizers the main staff unit will consist of a new post—that of consultant. The gorkom departments will be reorganized strictly in line with its commissions. Apart from the five specialist departments there will also be an analytical center, international and general departments, and a Moscow CPSU Gorkom administration of affairs.

And the structure we have been talking about will begin to work after it has been approved at a Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum.

Gunman Kills Kaluga Newspaper Editor

PM1501113091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 91 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent N. Kireyev: "Journalism Is a Dangerous Profession. A Growing List of Journalist Casualties Sets the Alarm Bell Ringing"]

[Text] Kaluga—As reported in PRAVDA, Ivan Ivanovich Fomin, editor of the Kaluga Oblast newspaper ZNAMYA, member of the CPSU obkom [oblast committee], chairman of the board of the oblast USSR Journalists' Union organization, and father of two, was killed by three shots at point-blank range in his office on 11 January. Gennadiy Golovkov, a photographer from the newspaper, was wounded when he courageously stood in the path of the murderer.

When we arrived at the scene of the crime on Saturday morning, its horrific traces were still partially preserved.

The editorial office staircase and entrance hall were awash with blood and the double doors into the editor's office were shot through with bullet holes. The bullets had left marks on the wall, and the telephone and window pane had been shattered by them. The bandit had taken no chances by taking hunting cartridges with him; these were capable of felling a bear. On the editor's table lay blood-spattered papers relating to newspaper material.

The newspaper staff had a look of dismay on their faces. They were all asking the same question: "Why Fomin?"

Why indeed? Is it possible that he brought trouble on himself by publishing the article "A Dangerous Profession" six days before the tragedy, in which he wrote: "A journalist's job is often said to be dangerous. And not just because the people who choose to do it have a shorter life expectancy, but also because journalists today are not at all respected, they are sometimes persecuted and are even shot at..."

Were these words prophetic?

His principled stance, his bravery, his steadfastness in defending the ideals of socialism and purging and renewing the party annoyed some people. He frequently found himself in the cross fire between the nihilists and the bawlers, between "us" and them.

During the elections Fomin withdrew his candidacy for the post of oblast soviet deputy in favor of the obkom second secretary. Shortly afterwards, having discovered more about his higher-ranking rival, he wrote and published some devastating material without anybody's consent. As a result the second secretary was relieved of his duties.

Journalist Fomin made things difficult for pseudodemocrats and scroungers, for all those who warmed their hands over the difficulties of our situation and used glasnost and democracy for selfish ends. For some reason the murderer picked out this brave party journalist and wonderful man as his victim.

The murderer, a certain V. Vorontsov, like his victim, incidentally, was born in 1945, and has three previous convictions, two of which were for robbery with violence. In 1973, after serving time in prison, he was exiled (as is customary in this country) beyond a 101-km radius of Moscow—to Kaluga Oblast. Lately he had a job as a carpenter at a house-building combine of the "Kalugastroy" Association. He had children by several wives and has abandoned them. The latest wife, his sixth, is expecting a child.

This was the man who after the lunch break on 11 January lay in wait for I. Fomin at the Press House with a briefcase in his hands. He waited for him, followed him through the crowd milling near the notices department, and went up to the third floor, probably having studied the layout of the offices beforehand. The secretary was not in the entrance hall. The murderer pulled out of the briefcase a .16-caliber sawed-off shotgun acquired at the Tula secondhand market and walked unhindered into the editor's office. The villain slew his victim by shooting at point-blank range. When the photographer G. Golovkov, who was in the immediate vicinity, heard the noise and burst into the room, he was shot too. In slipping out of the office the criminal forgot to take the briefcase, on which he had written his name and which contained evidence that included a notebook with a list of names of his intended victims.

Brandishing the sawed-off shotgun at anyone who came in his way, Vorontsov rushed outside, got into a trolleybus and escaped. By this time militiamen and chekists had already gathered at the Press House.

"A description of the gunman was established on the spot," KGB Administration chief N. Iudin and Internal Affairs Administration chief M. Astakhov said. "His distinctive features were broadcast frequently over local radio, and the city streets and important buildings were placed under observation. As it happened, however, Vorontsov turned up in the office where he formerly worked, where he was looking for his next victim. He came across A. Kaluzhskiy, chairman of the Construction and Installation Administration No. 6 Construction Committee, who was also shot twice and seriously wounded.

When he realized that they were looking for him all over the city and that he could not win, the murderer called the militia: "I see everything. Don't make a fuss, I'll come myself."

He presented himself unarmed and was arrested. When he was searched they took one remaining cartridge from him. Vorontsov parted with it with savage malice. Unable to contain himself, he blurted out: "A pity I didn't knock off another one..."

When he was interrogated for the first time, the terrorist (let's call things by their proper names) stated that he has hated communists since his childhood, and that he was incited to commit the murder by the press. Some are inclined to agree with him. The only question that arises is: What press exactly?

Kursk Oblast, Trade Unions Agree on Employment

PM1701094191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Kulagin under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Defending Working People's Interests"]

[Text] Kursk—Kursk Trade Union Federation Council and the oblast soviet executive committee have concluded a 5-year agreement on working people's social protection.

Concern for the employment of urban and rural inhabitants, for timely and complete forecasts of impending unemployment, and for an immediate response by local soviets and trade unions to any fluctuations in the sphere of the able-bodied population's employment is a key section of the agreement. It is planned to set up centers for the retraining and placement of workers who are released and to develop a broad network of small enterprises and forms of work at home.

The trade union federation insisted that the following point be included in the agreement: Not to allow the liquidation and privatization of enterprises without taking account of the opinion of these collectives' trade union.

Leningrad TV To Become Joint Stock Company

PM1701105391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Moscow Evening Edition p 1

[From roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, REUTER, UPI reports: "Leningrad TV To Become Joint-Stock Company?"]

[Text] At a meeting with her constituents, Bella Kurkova, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy and chief editor of Leningrad Television Arts Broadcasting Editorial Office, stated that the leadership of the USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] and the city Television and Radio Committee intend to transform Leningrad Television into a joint-stock company very soon. In her words, they want to make the administrations of giant city enterprises, specifically the Kirov Plant, the "Svetlana" Association, and others, owners of a controlling block of shares, INTERFAX reports.

In Bella Kurkova's opinion, this will obviously mean that television journalists will lose relative freedom in formulating programs, because leaders of the enterprises mentioned have already repeatedly criticized the radical tendency of Leningrad Television's broadcasts.

Western Republics

Problems With Draft in Ukraine Noted

91UM0266 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy: "Wheels in the Spokes"]

[Text] There was a great deal of trouble with the autumn draft in the Ukraine. Destructive forces, especially in the western regions, exerted considerable efforts to stop it. To do this, certain of the mass media launched a real attack on the Army, the soldiers' mothers committees stepped up their activity, and the soviets adopted decrees which contradicted existing legislation.

This situation was not found everywhere. In the majority of oblasts on whose territory the Carpathian Military District is located, the local soviets worked in close contact with the military commissariats and did everything possible to implement the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers promptly and well. As a result, physically and morally well-trained replacements were sent to Army and Navy units, KGB and Ministry of Internal Affairs troops, and construction units. This work was conducted especially successfully in Vinnitsa, Khmelnitskiy, Chernovitsy, and Zhitomir Oblasts.

But the same cannot be said about Lvov, Ivano-Frankov, Ternopol, and Transcarpathian Oblasts. For example, in Lvov Oblast the recruitment plan was fulfilled by only 75 percent. Now in Lvov Oblast about 300 draftees are refusing to serve, and 339 are on the wanted list.

This work was not arranged in the best possible way in Ternopol Oblast. Here there were cases of moral pressure being exerted on the draftees and their parents by individuals from Rukh and SNUM [Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth] in order to keep the boys from agreeing to serve in the military outside the Ukraine.

According to information from the military commissariats, their work has now been stepped up. There is confidence that all available possibilities will be utilized to carry out the president's ukase.

Ukrainian Party Secretariat Sitting Reported

PM1601114191 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Jan 91 p 1

[Report from the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Press Center: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat"]

[Text] A sitting of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat was held, at which a **list of questions to be examined in the Central Committee during the first six months of 1991** was discussed.

It was noted during the discussion that the party organizations' most important task is the implementation of the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress decisions on the political, economic, and legal stabilization of the situation in the republic, and the organizational and political strengthening of party ranks.

Communists in leadership positions and party members elected to the soviets of people's deputies must adopt urgent measures to overcome the crisis phenomena in the economy and the consumer market and to supply the republic's population with food products.

As before, communists will actively participate in fulfilling the state program for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe. The task of the party press is to consistently inform the public in the republic about the implementation of this program and the use of the government resources (100 million rubles) allocated by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to help families which suffered from the disaster.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee will conduct mass political work in connection with the holding of the nationwide referendum on the Union of SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republics] and private land ownership, and will work on a concept for a new Ukrainian SSR constitution.

The sitting of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat summed up **the results of the republican meeting of communist writers and examined measures for implementing the critical remarks, proposals, and wishes expressed at that meeting.**

It was noted that 425 of the 618 professional writers who are CPSU members participated in its work, as did representatives of all the creative unions of the Ukraine and the corresponding state and social institutions.

The meeting testified to the fact that, despite the widely publicized resignation from the party of a group of writers, the overwhelming majority of communist writers had not succumbed to pressure by anticommunist forces, and support the Ukrainian Communist Party's efforts to unite society's constructive forces on a platform of socialist choice.

At the same time it was stressed that the Ukrainian Communist Party party committees are devoting insufficient attention to work with the creative intelligentsia and make poor use ofthe intelligentsia's potential and prestige to defend spiritual values, to rally the healthy forces, and to overcome the difficulties arising in the course of perestroyka. The activity of the primary party organizations in creative unions and societies and cultural institutions is in need of political-organizational reinforcement. The experience of constructive cooperation between party committees and the creative intelligentsia must be widely publicized in the mass media.

The decisions of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission on personal cases were examined and ratified at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat sitting. In particular, a number of communists who were groundlessly repressed in the thirties were rehabilitated along party lines. Communists expelled from the party, who have admitted and condemned the actions they had perpetrated and have regained the trust of labor collectives and primary party organizations, were reinstated in the party. At the same time the Party Control Commission turned down the appeals by citizens expelled from the CPSU for swindling, bribe taking, dishonesty, irresponsible attitude toward the performance of their official duties, abuse of their official position for self-seeking purposes, and so on.

Other questions of party and public life were also examined at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat sitting, and corresponding resolutions were adopted.

Lvov Sulfur Miners Stage Strike

PM1501120391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Stepan Troyan under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Strike by Sulfur Miners"]

[Text] Lvov—The worker's collective at the "Sera" association has stopped delivering products to its customers.

Thus a warning strike that comes as no surprise to anybody, as the Lvov sulfur miners had stated on several occasions that there was a possibility of such action, has begun. For two weeks they will be sending the raw material to storage and then, if their demands are not met, they will cease extraction altogether.

I spoke to V. Podolyan, the enterprise's general director and a member of the strike committee, who said:

"We are always going around cap in hand. The former Ministry for the Production of Artificial Fertilizers is responsible for this industrial sector's constantly running at a loss. The leaders of the present-day "Agrokhim" association, which we are joining, are putting a brave face on a sorry business. Our debts are approaching 50 million rubles. If we do not raise the price of our products tomorrow we will simply go bust. We are aware that this demand for a price increase is unpopular, but what else can we do when already we are paying more today for fuel, electric power, equipment, and materials?!"

"Sera" association workers are demanding not only an increase in prices for their products but also job parity with open-cut coal miners and the allocation of at least 15 million rubles annually for the construction of housing and of consumer and social-cultural facilities.

KGB 'Trying To Mediate'

PM1601154791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0500 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Report by P. Savchak; from the "Television News Service"]

[Text] The demands being made by chemical industry workers are of a purely economic nature and do not infringe the provisions of Soviet legislation. The story has been running for some years now. The problem is that the largest suppliers of Soviet sulfur have found themselves in conditions that cannot even be described as dire. One of the chemical industry workers' demands is for an increase in the price of sulfur—one of the main raw materials for the production of mineral fertilizers as well as items for the chemical industry. Neither the Union nor the republic authorities have reacted to the appeals from Yavorovo and Novyy Rozdol. Consequently, they have resorted to extreme measures. They have halted dispatches of output to the country's customers for two weeks. If the matter is not resolved the enterprises are reserving the right to shut down entirely.

The Lvov KGB has become involved in resolving this labor conflict. They are trying to mediate between the chemical workers and their department.

Ukrainian Leaders Look Forward to New Year

PM1601164491 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Jan 91 p 2

[Feature comprising interviews with S. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic) Supreme Soviet, and V. Fokin, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; place and date of interviews and names of interviewers not given]

[Text]

S. Gurenko, First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee

The new year is always a time of hope for better things, for cheerful changes. I am an optimist. I believe in my people and my party.

Recent events and the second stage of the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress have strengthened this confidence. This is not just my personal opinion. Our opponents among old enemies of the Communist Party and recent deserters have been unable to form a distorted image in people's minds of the party as a force opposed to the interests of the people, as some kind of monster which can be blamed for anything and everything, responsible for real and invented mistakes—its own and other people's.

Today, as the Central Committee's bulging mail bag proves, the vast majority of communists are in fighting spirit and are overcoming the timidity, confusion, and passivity that were beginning to appear under pressure from anticommunism and militant demagoguery. The main thing now is for all elements of the party to get down to practical work as quickly as possible. The basic direction this work will take has been set down with sufficient clarity by the congress.

We are realists and therefore we do not expect rapid and easy success. There are difficult times ahead, and the most important duty of every communist employed in the economic sector, which is the key one at the present moment, is to do everything possible to establish the normal operation of the national economy and to restore and strengthen the sundered links between enterprises and regions. Everything should be done to mitigate as far as possible the negative consequences of entering the market, and also, let us be frank, the consequences of a series of hasty decisions and ill-considered actions taken in the management of this sector.

All of us together—and here in particular I am addressing our intelligentsia—can and must actively and single-mindedly spend time working to improve the moral and psychological atmosphere in our society. It goes without saying that the spiritual resurrection of the people, their culture and morality, cannot be achieved in a single year. But I should very much like for 1991 to be the turning point in making up not only material shortages but also moral shortcomings, for people to be more tolerant toward one another, for the voice of reason and goodness, justice and mercy to sound more fully in their hearts.

This is the appeal I should like to send to the people of the Ukraine with hope and love in my heart together with my new year wishes.

L. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet

If all the Ukraine were to gather around the festive table, I would wish for all of us, including myself as a member of this state and society, and as a citizen of the Ukrainian SSR, that in 1991 we should be more thoughtful, more conscientious, and more responsible for our actions in moving along the path laid down by the Ukrainian Declaration of State Sovereignty.

I think that all of us without exception should understand one simple truth: Everything we have already adopted and will adopt in the Supreme Soviet will take effect only when everyone wants it to. But for this to happen many people must overcome their own ambitions and occasionally their shattered nerves and surmount certain psychological barriers.

Everyone must set before him the image of the Ukraine and its people. Everyone must make an effort so that everything pure and bright in our hearts and souls helps us to transform our life, to make it worthy of our people. This can only be achieved in one way—by working efficiently. I cannot see any other way. We can be helped—with a kind heart and sincere wishes. But it is up to us alone to change our life, restructure it, and base it on the law, humanism, democracy, glasnost, and respect for human beings, so that the rights and freedoms of the individual are defended. Only we, the inhabitants of our native Ukraine, can do this—Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians... The task of the Supreme Soviet, parliamentarians, and deputies at all levels is to do everything to make all the people in our land feel like brothers and sisters who enjoy equal rights. To make them feel that the Ukraine is always their mother, their native land.

V. Fokin, Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers

Unfortunately 1990 has ended on an unhappy note. Today things are worrying on the consumer market. The shortage of goods is getting worse, the buying power of the ruble is falling. But the mystery of the new year festival is that at no other time can man try to leave all his difficulties, troubles, and failures in the past and step into the future hoping for something better. I would like to kindle in everyone the optimism that is needed so much in our society.

I am convinced that next year the good, talented, and industrious people of the Ukraine will stabilize the situation and begin the long-awaited move toward progress and prosperity. In doing this it is no good reckoning on humanitarian aid from outside—what, don't we have enough sense of national pride? No, we must bring order into our own house by ourselves, through persistent work, discipline, unity, and civil accord in all areas of public life. This is my first and maybe my chief wish.

Like the entire country, our republic has beaten a path toward the democratization of society which any civilized society has taken centuries to achieve. We, however, have literally skipped several coils of the historical spiral. It is probably this fact, together with our economic difficulties, that has become one of the principal reasons for the present political instability, mistrust, skepticism, and resentment.

Any problems are more easily solved by a man who is reasonable, sure of himself, and knows how to bear life's burdens and privations with dignity. We all face an enormous amount of difficult work for the sake of our children and grandchildren, for the sake of the future of our Ukraine. Of course I would like it if people's faces lit up with smiles as often as possible. It is a terrible thing to say, but we have quite forgotten how to sing, and have nearly forgotten how to laugh. And so I would like to conclude my new year greeting with some words by L. Raynis: Smile about your troubles and their bitterness will disappear, smile upon your enemy and his animosity will melt away, smile about your irritation and it will no longer be there.

I wish you happiness and health, my dear fellow countrymen!

Rukh Leader Interviewed During Budapest Visit

LD1001235191

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0750 GMT on 10 January carries a ten-minute recorded report on an interview with Dmitriy Ponamarchuk, spokesman of the Ukrainian National Movement, Rukh, during his visit to Budapest.

He begins by outlining his view of the recent developments in Soviet internal politics, regarding mainly Gorbachev's endeavors to achieve the highest presidential power and Shevardnadze's resignation. In his view, Gorbachev is already a dictator with more power than Brezhnev, Lenin, or Stalin ever had. What one must not forget is that, "for the time being, neither the Army nor the KGB is independent of the political forces; thus these repressive organizations are still kept in hand by the CPSU," Panamarchuk says. In his opinion, the world is wrong to consider Gorbachev a democrat, for he is only waiting for the first opportune moment to declare an emergency situation.

Discussing the resignation of Shevardnadze, Ponamarchuk recalls the story of the dismissal of Gorbachev's former Interior Minister Bakatin. In his view, Shevardnadze had practically already been dismissed by the time of his resignation. The proof of this was the offer of the velvet chair of the vice-presidency. His resignation came in handy for Gorbachev to frighten the conservative forces, which are acting more and more threateningly. Ponamarchuk says that "Shevardnadze, as a Georgian patriot, could not do anything else but choose between Tbilisi and the Kremlin," thus resign.

As regards the future of the Soviet empire, Ponamarchuk believes that the danger of a series of local civil wars is very real, and they practically have already started, like the one in Moldavia. He says the only peaceful solution is "to dissolve the Congress of People's Deputies, and convene the legally elected representatives of the republics, chosen on the basis of multiparty democracy, and they must agree on a whole chain of bilateral relations." He then outlines the main political and economic objectives of Rukh, and the hitherto results of their activity.

The reporter tackles him on an issue according to which the Ukrainian National Movement is very polite and sensitive at the moment regarding the national minorities. However, as rumors have it, once victorious, it will change its stance completely, and the Russians, Jews, and Magyars living there, will have much to fear. In reply to the question whether Rukh can guarantee that its nationality policies will not change after its coming to power, Ponamarchuk says that regarding Rukh's strategy toward the nationality question, "the example of the Magyar minority living in sub-Carpathia must be taken. At present, the local authority decides in every question. This, according to Rukh's view, is a very dangerous policy. Because any nationality can only receive benefit at will at the detriment of the others. If the Magyars are given something, the Ruthenes, the Czechs, the Moldavians immediately believe that it was taken away from them. Therefore, we believe that Kiev must decide in these questions. Every region will have to pay part of their revenue into the so-called nationality fund. Such a tax will have to be paid by the large industrial areas also, on the territory of which only one big nationality lives. They will have to understand that they cannot withdraw themselves from improving the situation of the minorities. In the multiethnic regions, everyone will know that what the others are getting is not taken away from them," Ponamarchuk concludes.

Moldovan Leaders, Commissar Discuss Draft

91UM0266A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by Colonel S. Pashayev: "Draft Restored"]

[Text] The military commissar of the Moldovan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Major General V. Nazarov met last week with representatives of the republic leadership. They discussed the situation with respect to drafting citizens for active military service. The military commissar thinks that the discussion was not easy but it inspires hope.

Life confirms that common sense will gradually win out. The order of the country's defense minister, which directs the military administration organs in the local areas to implement the provisions of the well-known ukase of the USSR president, was accepted by the public in a positive way on the whole. In spite of individual actions on the part of extremist elements from the People's Front of Moldova and the Democratic Union, the draft was restored here. During the last two days alone about 300 draftees came from the rayon military commissariats to the republic recruiting point.

New Belorussian Ecological Newspaper Planned

LD1101230991 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0515 GMT 11 Jan 91

[Summary] The first issue of the inter-republic social and ecological newspaper NABAT [ALARM BELLS] is in preparation. It is founded by the Belorussian social and ecological union Chernobyl, the Gomel Oblast Executive Committee, the Japanese-Belorussian Society Chernobyl-Hiroshima and a number of both social and state organizations of the Ukraine and Russia.

The newspaper will cover daily work on the elimination of consequences of Chernobyl accident, the survival problems, cultural and economic activities in the disaster area, and on social protection of the population that suffered from the accident, and of the liquidators.

Caucasus

'Extremists' Fire on Militia Posts in Tskhinvali

AU1701194991 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Text] I have here an announcement of the press center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, which states the following concerning events in Tskhinvali:

In the (Tskhinvali and Dzhava) Rayon, the situation continues to be tense. As dusk approaches, despite the beginning of the curfew, extremists groups start shooting. This indeed happened on the night of 16 and 17 January. At 1700, the extremists opened fire with automatic weapons on the militia post located (?near) Tskhinvali. In various parts of the town throughout the night, armed attacks continued to be made on militia posts. The militia officers [names indistinct] returned the fire.

The extremists used various types of projectiles [boyevye snaryady], as a result of which fires broke out in houses late at night. Because of the fact that many streets were barricaded with reinforced concrete blocks, the militia's fire engines could not reach the location of the fires and put them out.

This morning, the situation in Tskhinvali is relatively calm.

Georgia Sets Up National Defense Fund

LD1601083791 Moscow TASS in English 013 GMT 16 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi January 16 TASS—The Georgian Government has set up a national defence fund in the republic.

It has been announced here that the fund was created at "the request of citizens, work collectives of enterprises, organisations and institutions in the republic".

Previously, the republican parliament gave the go-ahead to the creation of the repubulican national guard to be used only by order of the president of the parliament.

The guard will defend the republic's territorial integrity.

Georgian Legislature Denies Radio Liberty Report

LD1701082391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 16 January, (TASS)—A denial of the information disseminated by a correspondent of Radio Liberty's Russian service, who, on 13 January, in a report from a Tbilisi rally of solidarity with the people of Lithuania, mentioned a speech made there by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, has been issued by the press center of the Supreme Council of this republic in Transcaucasia.

A special statement on the subject, published today, stresses that, when speaking of the Georgian people's attitude to the "Interfronts" and to similar "fifth columns", as he called them, of the center, Zviad Gamsakhurdia was not literally calling, as the Liberty correspondent portrayed it, for the "physical annihilation" of anyone. "This is a fundamentally erroneous view and fails utterly to reflect the political principles either of the Supreme Soviet or, even more so, of its chairman."

Branding the "Interfronts" and other "forces servig the center" as being directly responsible for the tragedy in Vilnius, the Supreme Soviet press center stresses that "the Georgian people will always fight them by political methods alone. That is what Zviad Gamsakhurdia meant in his speech."

Two Local Soviet Chairmen Elected in Armenia

NC1501193291 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The first session of the first convocation of the Yerevan City Soviet resumed its deliberations after a brief adjournment. The session was chaired by Ambardzum Galstyan, chairman of the Yerevan City Soviet. The session confirmed the agenda of the session, the interim standing orders of Yerevan City Soviet, and the credentials of a group of people's deputies. The session also elected a standing commission of people's deputies to formulate a new status for the Yerevan City Soviet. The people's deputies then undertook the election of the deputy chairmen of Yerevan City Soviet. The session is continuing its deliberations.

The first session of the Moscowyanskiy Rayon Soviet in Kumayri city [former Leninakan] has elected its chairman. He is Rudik Anushavanovich Ovanesyan, a people's deputy at the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the former chairman of the executive committee of the Moscowyanskiy Rayon Soviet.

The first session of the first convocation of Gorisskiy Rayon Soviet also met. Robert Armenakovich Aleksanyan, a people's deputy at the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the former first secretary of Gorisskiy Rayon party committee, was elected chairman of the rayon soviet in a closed and secret ballot.

Central Asia

New Commercial Newspaper Published in Kazakhstan

LD1301142591 Alma Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Summary] The first issue of the commercial newspaper KARKYN [SPEED] has been published. Its founder is the Pavlodar branch of the Kazakh Republican Energy Construction Association. The newspaper will publish interesting proposals, ideas, and projects, and will help to find reliable partners for business under market conditions.

Kazakhstan Launches Satellite TV Broadcasts

PM1001095791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 91 First Edition p 4

[Report by Colonel A. Ladin: "Space Link for Kazakhstan"]

[Text] Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] President U. Karamanov is linking the possibility of setting up a satellite television system in the republic with conversion of defense industry enterprises.

The KAZAKH TELEGRAPH AGENCY reports that a powerful television station enabling reception of television programs via satellite has been put into operation in Alma-Ata. As early as the beginning of the year, 15 Kazakh rayons which did not get television broadcasts from Ama-Ata will start receiving programs from the republic's television center.

Demonstrating the new television station's capabilities, specialists showed the prime minister a program from the U.S. CNN Corporation. All that remains to be done is to resolve legal and financial questions so that programs received from the U.S. channel can be included in Kazakhstan television's output.

Tajikistan Departments Merge Into Cooperative

LD1201233391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1438 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Summary] Anchorman Pavel Kasparov reports that in Tajikistan two major departments, the Ministry for Agricultural Construction [Minselkhozstroy] and the Tadzhikkolkhozstroy association have been transformed into the cooperative-state concern, Tadzhikselstroy.

(Rakhimzon Gafurovich Gafurov) is the first deputy president of the concern. The president, deputies, and managing bodies have been elected. The personnel establishment and the structure of estimates and expenditure of the concern is approved, not from above, but by a conference of members of the concern, which is the supreme body of management. The personnel of the concern's executive apparatus has been considerably reduced compared to the one presently in operation and the maintenance expenditure has been reduced. The concern's executive apparatus will operate on the principles of financial autonomy. There is no pressure on the part of the managing bodies of the concern when the plan indices for production and economic activity are drawn up. A lot of time is taken by these bodies to draw up economic forecasts of the situation. These are passed to the members of the concern who "do not interfere in the production functions of organizations and enterprises." This means that there will not be a proliferation of building sites [ne budet mnogostroyev] and the funds released will be used for other purposes.

Turkmen SSR Law on Property Published

914A0230A

For the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic Law on Property published in the 30 October issue of TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-91-002, 16 January 1991, pages 36-42.

Uzbek Draft Program for Market Economy Published

914A0121A

For the Uzbek draft program for a market economy published in the 17 October issue of PRAVDA VOSTOKA, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-91-002, 16 January 1991, pages 42-52.